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A HISTORY OF MUSIC

Theodore M. Finney

REVISED EDITION



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PREFACE

THE PRESENT volume attempts to present the history of music in such a manner that the student or the general reader will discover to his increasing interest that he can make an understanding and therefore sympathetic approach to all music. It is the hope of the author that what he has written will lead the reader to the music itself, that the reader will not substitute history for music. There may be occasions when events and trends outside of music will throw light on the motivation of composers, but the power of music to measure the pulse of the time in which it was written remains vague until the music is first understood in its own terms. Correlations in which music is involved, based on anything but a genuine experience of the music in question, are hardly likely to have much value!

The material in this text is presented with a view to showing chronological growth and development. An inverted chronology may be a source of amusement and interest to one who is already well acquainted with his subject, but it gives a false picture of how events take place. Cause and effect relationships do exist. Beethoven, obviously, did not learn from Wagner. The desire to escape from a strict chronology in music history often arises out of the difficulties involved in the study of early music and musical systems. Their relation to our music is tenuous, and they involve concepts which are strange to the student whose understanding of the theory of his own musical system is still incomplete. For those whose experience with the terminology of music is limited, it may be profitable to begin with Part Two, reserving the complete reading of Part One until ready to review the first half of the book.

In this Revised Edition, the history of American music has been expanded from a single chapter to four chapters. American music is traced from its modest beginnings in the Colonial Period through

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, until it comes of age in the twentieth century.

The Prologues which have been added to the Revised Edition are an attempt to help the reader feel that music is a part of the whole of civilization. While the specialized and rather difficult subject of music history is being studied it is important to be reminded from time to time that this study illuminates only part of a much larger picture. Even the musician is sometimes a victim to the fiction that he lives in a world apart. He needs to be reminded that music is not unresponsive to the culture of which it is so rich a part.

The bibliographies at the ends of chapters represent an amount of reading which cannot possibly be completed within the time limits of a year's course or a winter's casual reading. For either a musician or a non-professional listener, music fortunately offers much more than sufficient material for a lifetime interest. Let the introduction to the history of music be construed as the skeletal framework upon which future knowledge and experience can find its logical place; with such a conception the bibliographies may serve as guides for several years' adventure. They will, if so used, demonstrate their incompleteness. The student will find that a bibliography for the history of music is almost limitless. The music student should learn the same library technic that is so necessary a tool for the student of other sorts of history. General works of reference have been omitted from the bibliographies. The student should have ready access to the latest editions of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, Cobbett's *Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*, the *Oxford Companion to Music*, *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, Riemann's *Musiklexikon*, and others of more specialized nature.

The Revised Edition contains no lists of recordings. Such lists will be available in pamphlet form. The availability and quality of recordings in 1947 are so uncertain that it would be a mistake to make such listings a permanent part of the book.

Some reading, and as much listening as possible by way of illustration, should accompany the study of this book. Recordings offer a wide variety of choice not only among the various works of single composers but of performing artists. Some of the recordings, par-

ticularly of early works, must be used with care: standards of performance and technic of recording are not always satisfactory; the devotional aspect of some music has been allowed to excuse faulty musicianship; too often works have been "modernized" to the point that they are full of anachronisms. Finally, printed music should be available. The student should be encouraged to make the acquaintance of a great deal of music, preferably by reading and playing it himself and when this is impossible by following the printed page while it is being performed. The value of this sort of contact with music can hardly be overemphasized.

The gratitude which was expressed in the Preface to the original edition is still felt: to students and colleagues at Carleton College and Smith College; to Dr. Oliver Strunk, now of Princeton University; to Miss Rebecca Wilder Holmes of Smith College; to Dr. Philip Greeley Clapp of the University of Iowa; to my brothers, Professor Ross Lee Finney, Jr., of Smith College and Mr. Nathanael S. Finney of Washington, D. C. Thanks are more recently due to the many users of the book who have made such gracious suggestions for its improvement, to students at the University of Pittsburgh who have helped me to teach them a little music history, to Dr. Manfred F. Bukofzer of the University of California for permission to quote his study on *Sumer is icumen in*, and finally to Molly, whose interest and encouragement somehow seemed to lend constant certitude to the hope that a long job eventually would be finished.

THEODORE M. FINNEY

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Part One: The Ancient Period

PROLOGUE:

RELIGION, BEAUTY, LAW

FROM THE music which comes out of a twentieth-century radio to the music of the ancient world is an almost inconceivably long step. Many of us use our own music daily with a good deal of satisfaction without understanding it. The only approach to the music of the ancient world is through the process of understanding it; it will never have a satisfying usefulness to us, in the sense that we use our own music.

The student of music history takes up this subject—whether he is aware of it or not—because of his need to increase the satisfaction he may get from his own music by increasing his understanding of it. His own music begins, for purposes of understanding, in the ancient world. It would be unthinkable really to understand the forces at work in twentieth-century culture—religious, social, intellectual, legal, scientific, philosophical, artistic—without reference to the ancient Mediterranean world. There Western music, too, had its beginnings.

One of the most difficult concepts for the student of any sort of history is the realization that what he is studying is the activity of people, as real to themselves, as subject to the cravings of the mind and heart and body, as we are to our-

selves. What they did, even when their names have been long forgotten, was as interesting and vital to them as our activities are to us. Music is for people, and the strangeness of some of the music we shall meet does not mean that the people who made and used it, and understood it at least as well as we understand ours, would have been strangers if we could have known them. They were making music which satisfied for them the same needs that our music satisfies for us.

Our knowledge even of the ancient world is so extensive that a broad picture of those times and peoples in a short space is rather difficult to achieve. It is possible, however, to make certain generalizations with some value as a background for a story, which, of necessity, must be specialized. Like all historical generalizations, these must be applied with a caution derived from the understanding that generalizations which emphasize differences between contemporary cultures inevitably underemphasize similarities.

From the standpoint of the modern world, ancient civilization produced three great climaxes, each produced by a different people in a different place. Each climax culminates an age-long development of the special "genius" of a people as that people emerged from its contacts with older races and peoples. To us these climaxes seem very clear because each one of them represents an aspect of our cultural heritage so basic and so valid that our indebtedness cannot be denied.

The people who left us the Bible, the founders of the great Jewish-Christian religious tradition, were responsible for one of the great climaxes of the ancient world. They had a genius for religion.

The Greek part of the ancient world was responsible for another climax in art and philosophy. Theirs was a genius for beauty.

The Roman climax displays a genius for the organization of power—for law.

It is unlikely that any inhabitant of the ancient world saw himself as having a genius for one particular aspect of life. The world was already old in his time, and the complexities of everyday life were of the home and street and market place and temple. Each man met his problems as they came. But each people, in meeting its total problems, set a kind of pattern, chose a peculiar frame of reference, which answered the needs of its genius.

The Hebrew referred his problems to his religious concepts for their solution. His peculiar genius was that for him it was a necessity that his life be governed by his religion. That pattern—in its final ancient form a climax of the civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean—appears time after time in the history not only of music but also of all Western civilization.

The ancient Greek, in like manner, has left another pattern. His curiosity about the world in which he lived and about the manner in which he lived with the other inhabitants of that world was probably no stronger than the curiosity of other peoples. But his peculiar genius led him to an ideal of beauty which, it is true, had some basis in his religious concepts, but which was largely the result of his ability to discern relationships in materials whose parts fitted one another so well that they achieved a kind of perfection. This desire to impose order—an order which is the essence of beauty—on the materials that seem to need it, be they stones, pigments, sounds, mathematical concepts, social relationships, or all-embracing philosophical considerations, was the genius of the Greek. Order—beauty—was his frame of reference. This pattern, too, is our inheritance. The history of our culture demonstrates time

after time a tendency to trust this aesthetic frame of reference. The complex Greek musical system demonstrates it at the beginning of our study.

Roman civilization was tremendously complex, based as it was on the amalgamation of numerous and often conflicting cultures. For reasons often less than admirable, the Roman was faced with the necessity of holding his world together. He was a conqueror and an organizer; he sailed the seas and marched the highways. Out of this background his genius gradually appeared: the ability to organize his power into a legal system which would preserve that power. This legal prowess he came to admire as an end in itself. The law, the code, was to be used as a frame of reference simply because it was the law. Again, here is a pattern which is part of our heritage. The effects of this frame of reference may be traced not only in music and the other arts but also throughout many other aspects of historical culture. Our modern uses of the word canon, which originally meant that by which other things are measured, illustrate these effects, as, for instance, the canons of art or of good taste are above question.

The influence of the ancient world has been transmitted to us largely by one great institution, the Christian Church. Its importance alone, even in as limited a field as the history of music, makes some understanding of the time which saw its rise exceedingly important. What, of ancient culture, the Church found useful—and this included a great deal of music—has come to us in a straight line through the Church. Its background is our background, its quality is our quality. The Western world, Western culture, Western music are what they are partly because of what the Church saved through a long period of chaotic darkness in which it was almost the only light.

We proceed, then, to the study of a comparatively small aspect of Western civilization: music. Our music had its beginnings in whatever were the beginnings of Mediterranean civilization. As the patterns of that civilization became clear, every aspect of culture was touched by them. Their effects will be found even in what we are able to learn about ancient music.

I

INTRODUCTION

Ancient and Exotic Musical Systems

FOR NEARLY two centuries one of the most fascinating interests of musical scholars has been the discovery of information concerning the primitive beginnings of their art. The most diverse sources have been studied: musical references in the literature of the ancient world, artifacts from the monuments of antiquity, the musical usages of remote and barbarous tribes of the present, the highly developed musical systems of such Eastern civilizations as the Chinese and Hindoo—all these and many more have been called upon to help tell the story of the early emergence of music as an art. But the vast body of knowledge which has been gathered, although it contains much that is interesting, belongs more properly to the sciences of anthropology and ethnology than to the history of music. Most of its details can be omitted; some of its conclusions, however, form the points of departure from which a study of Western music may well begin.

The Artistic Dualism Inherent in Primitive Beginnings

The study of the history of music needs a beginning. Whether we are immersed in the study of the technical details of the science of musicology or bewildered by shifts of taste and contradictory theories, whether we are performers or listeners, jazz players or dancers, we must remember that this beginning, made in the hundred thousand years before the dawn of history, will give us what the journalist calls "human interest" for our whole study. Not so much how and with what our primeval ancestors began the making of music, although that is important, but why they made music at all is the problem which will give us a point of view. What human needs did the primitive man satisfy by his music making? The "Old Man" of Crô-Magnon ate because he was hungry. So do we. He made music because his dawning appetite for emotional communication and artistic expression, almost as fundamental a human need as food is an animal necessity, demanded satisfaction. He, or his even earlier ancestors, began the long series of inventions and experiments with the materials of music, still going on today, which have had as their purpose the satisfaction of a great human need.

The most striking aspect of this emotional need in connection with music is its inevitable dualism, an aspect which, if once grasped by the student, will illuminate the whole study of music history. That dualism is clearly expressed in the oppositions of some of the theories relating to primitive "music." The Spencerian¹ theory is to the effect that vocal music, and in consequence all music, is an idealization of the natural language of passion. According to this theory, music is an extension of the primitive desire to communicate; consequently its whole artistic function is related to the communication of human emotions and passions. On the other hand, Wallaschek² advances the theory that the original musical impulse was purely aesthetic,³ growing out of

¹ Spencer, *Illustrations of Universal Progress: The Origin and Function of Music*.

² Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*.

³ The word aesthetic is used here in a restricted sense. See Clive Bell's *Art* for an elaboration of this particular use of the word.

the rhythmic impulse; consequently instrumental music precedes vocal music, and the whole artistic function of music is the satisfaction of a purely aesthetic need.

The acceptance of either theory, to the exclusion of the other, will inevitably leave unexplained at least half of what music actually does to the sensitive nervous system. The truth, with regard both to the primitive beginnings of music and to how music answers a human need, is to be found in the acceptance, at the beginning, of this seemingly contradictory dualism. Music is both a means of expression (communication) and an artistic medium subject to the laws governing regularity in the arrangement of its materials.

The Selection of Musical Materials

It is as difficult to imagine a tonal art without some regularity in the use of its materials as it would be impossible to imagine a highly complex artistic work in which odors were substituted for sounds. Primitive man, had he been asked to describe the aural symphony of the remote future, would have encountered the same impossibilities that prevent us from describing a symphony of smells. The reason should be clear: he had no system of musical materials which had been selected on the basis of some orderly arrangement. If we examine any representative piece of Western music, Schumann's "Träumerei" for example, we will discover many evidences of tonal regularity. The sounds out of which Schumann built his little description of a child's dream are arranged in orderly patterns both vertically and horizontally. The horizontal pattern results in a tonal line which can be followed aurally in almost exactly the same fashion that the eye follows the lifting and dropping of telegraph wires outside the window of a speeding express train. That line we call *melody*.

Upon closer examination of Schumann's melody, we discover that when its constituent tones are placed within the range of one octave it moves about over only eight different sounds: C D E \flat E F G A B \flat . Those tones group themselves into two scales: F G A B \flat C D E and B \flat C D E \flat F G A, sounds which have, in each scale, the same relationship to one another.

If we were to examine not only "Träumerei" but all of Schumann's music, and nearly all of the music composed in Europe and America since 1650, we should find that it is all made from the eight sounds found in "Träumerei," and four others: twelve tones which group themselves into the sort of scales found above—and one other sort, the tones of which have a slightly different relationship within the scale.

These types of scales, which can be moved about from one pitch to another—transposed—but which always retain the same internal structure, are familiar to the student as the major and minor *modes*. The melodies of Western music are limited, then, to the possible transpositions of two seven-tone modes over a series of twelve different tone positions. Schumann managed a lovely melody from only eight tones and just two transpositions of one mode. But the limitations which his inspiration put upon his pen at the time he wrote "Träumerei" were small compared to the selective limitation under which he unconsciously worked. *From the vast number of different sounds within the octave he could use at the most only twelve, because Western music, for the sake of achieving regularity in the use of its materials, has gone through a process of elimination which makes the use of intervals smaller than the half-step undesirable.*

Western music began with about the same kind of tonal concepts and usages as any other system. The sounds which naturally proceed from the human larynx vary among cultures and races far less than does the color of the skin. When melodic instruments began to complement the voice they were of an equal crudeness in all cultures. Tones of different pitch were produced with a general lack of any systematic relationship. In every culture, when musicians began to notice that intervals between different sounds were of varying sizes they found they were making and enjoying intervals from the smallest that the ear could recognize to the largest that voice or instrument could compass. Any systematization necessarily had to include intervals of many sizes.

The first detailed study of sound as a science—a phenomenon that could exhibit regularity—undoubtedly led musicians to discard sounds which proved to be hopelessly irregular. But some

smaller tones, quarters and thirds, were retained. They were both regular and of *great melodic value*.

Western music has, through its long course of development, eliminated these small intervals. That process, together with the development of harmonic or vertical relationship between tones (which has narrowed even our diatonic modes to two) produced the melodic limitations under which Schumann, and nearly every other composer of modern times, has labored.

Some of the exotic systems have retained their use of small intervals. This fact should bring us to a question which, if answered sympathetically, will give a better understanding of music other than our own: Has Western music lost something by eliminating the melodic possibilities inherent in the smaller and less regular intervals which the music of other cultures still values?

The Easterner—Hindoo, Arab, and Chinese—even after a long exposure to Western music, responds (omitting for the sake of our argument the universal human reaction to rhythm) only to the melody.⁴ Melody and music are virtually synonymous to him. Melodic beauty is the measuring stick by which he judges music. From the Easterner's point of view, every limitation of material which robs melody of subtlety and variety, even though it result in added richness at another point (i.e., harmony), is a move in an inartistic direction. That part of music which to him carries the sense of the art, that part which to him really *is* the art, is being made poorer in artistic possibility.

Let us remember, then, that Western music has sacrificed, for the sake of harmonic richness and tonal regularity, a vast field of musical possibilities. More important, however, is the fact that the attainment of tonal regularity has been the result of a long and complex development which has resulted largely from the desire of our race for a more perfect musical art.

Musical Instruments

Cultures all emerged into the historic era equipped with musical instruments, and some even with a mythology which ac-

⁴ See Rabindranath Tagore, *My Reminiscences*.

counted for their invention. The presence of instruments indicates that the separation of the melodic and rhythmic line from speech had long been understood. But the manner and time of the discoveries that resulted in the concepts of melody and rhythm as distinct expressive entities, and the invention of musical instruments, first as aids to man-made melodies and rhythms, and then as substitutes for them, will ever remain a matter of speculation.

Perhaps no better introduction to the study of the history of music could be made than for each individual student to engage his mind in a speculation about the origins of musical instruments. When and how did primitive man discover that, just as his muscular power could be extended beyond his arm's reach by the use of clubs and stones, the reach of his voice could be extended by an amplifying horn? When and how did he make the discoveries of artificial sound production: drums, whistles, struck metals, vibrating strings? Scholars of prehistoric times indicate that the subhuman race, called Neanderthal man, which lived in Europe between forty and one hundred thousand years ago, had a rudimentary power of speech. One perforated bone, which may have been used by that same race as a whistle, found in France (Dordogne), remains as evidence of a music dawning over a period fifty times as long as the Christian Era.

Musical instruments have always been limited in basic principle by the sound-producing materials furnished by nature. These materials group themselves into three divisions, which have always remained constant, no matter how great either the variation within the group or the combinations made between groups.

PRINCIPLE	CLASS OF INSTRUMENTS
Resonating membrane or solid	Percussion
Vibrating string	String
Vibrating column of air	Wind

Instruments may be classified, no matter to what culture they belong, under these groupings. It is obvious that any such classification will have imperfections. No definite line of demarcation can be drawn between the classes because some overlapping always exists. In spite of the overlappings, however, the study of instruments will be greatly facilitated by reference to the above outline.

The Social Uses of Music

Music is a social art; consequently its history cannot be written without mentioning its social uses. The types of music may vary immensely, but the forms of its use, the purposes for which any culture retains music as a part of its social heritage, remain almost the same.

The addition of melody and rhythm to speech and bodily movement has a heightening effect on both, and this explains the charm of music to both savage and civilized man. Until comparatively recent times music existed with no other function. It was an assistant art, always combined with speech or movement, or both. It quickly became allied to those activities where its peculiar effects were desirable. Heightened bodily movement is the *dance*, the *march*, or a *work rhythm*. Heightened speech is *song*. Song develops, from the character of its text, several uses: folk song, dramatic song, religious song, art song.

From even such a short analysis an adequate catalogue of the social uses of music may be constructed:

Religious, liturgical—both drama and song

Military—march and song

Dramatic—dramatic song, epic recitation

Folk—songs and dances, for both amusement and work

Art—which gives a new function and significance to the perfected aspects of the other four

Conclusion

Music emerged into the historic era as a social art, equipped with musical instruments and with some quite definite tonal regularity. It has been pointed out that its prehistoric development throws some light on the inherent qualities which determined the course of its later growth. As a Western art, its detailed study may profitably begin with the examination of the music of the ancient Greeks.

Readings

Richard Wallaschek

Carl Engel

Herbert Spencer

Yrjo Hirn

A. H. Fox-Strangways

Atyia Begum Fyzee-Rahanin

Frederick R. Burton

John Stainer

Natalie Curtis

Francesco Salvador-Daniel

*Primitive Music**The Music of the Most Ancient Nations**Illustrations of Universal Progress:
The Origin and Function of Music**The Origins of Art**The Music of Hindostan**The Music of India**American Primitive Music**The Music of the Bible**The Indian's Book**The Music and Musical Instruments of
the Arab*

2

THE MUSIC OF THE ANCIENT
GREEKS*The Mythical Origins of Greek Music*

GREEK musical history as the Greeks themselves told it was a story of the invention of instruments and forms by mythological deities and heroes. That they found it necessary thus poetically to ascribe their musical background to the gods means that it reached so far even into their own past that no other explanation for it could be given. The important element to us is, however, that the Greeks themselves were convinced their music had been gathered from sources so diffuse as to include almost all of their known world: Egypt, Crete, Phoenicia, and Assyria.

Music as a Part of Greek Culture

Our word "music" is a Greek word. But in discussing the music of the Greeks we must bear in mind that the word now has a meaning altogether different from its Greek meaning. The Greeks applied it to an art which was a composite of poetry, dancing, acting, and musical sounds.

The fact that to the ancient Greeks what we call music was merely a part of a larger composite art gives us the clue to the place music held in Greek civilization. Music, even in our sense of the word, played a large part in Greek life. Although a young Greek citizen was not compelled to learn to sing and to perform upon an instrument, these were accomplishments which were held to be most desirable. The epics of Homer or the odes of Pindar were never recited except to music. Music was an integral part of the drama which bulked so large in the life of the Greek city-state. Music was a part, along with dancing, of Greek religious ceremonies. Musical contests were included in the Olympic games.

Pythagoras and the Beginnings of Musical Science

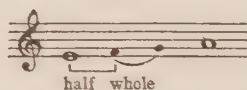
Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher who lived about 582-507 B.C., began the long series of recorded experiments which gradually led to an understanding of elementary acoustics. He was a native of Samos; after many travels, and a period of study in Egypt, he settled in what is now Crotona, in Italy, where he founded a school still held in respect by mathematicians. The part of Pythagoras' philosophy which interests a music student resulted from his belief in the possibility of reducing natural relationships to a series of mathematical formulas. He was led to this theory by his experiments with sounds. Just how his investigations were conducted will always remain a mystery. One story tells of his investigating the sounds produced with varying sizes of hammers and anvils. Other historians describe minutely a monochord, a long string stretched over a soundbox and the use of a movable bridge. Be that as it may, Pythagoras and his successors learned some fundamental facts

with regard to tone relationships, without an understanding of which the high development of scale procedure in Greek music would hardly have been possible. He found that the tone relationships of the octave, the fifth, and the fourth, correspond to the numerical relationships 2:1, 3:2, and 4:3. He thus defined three very important tonal positions, which, as we shall see, have always been basic in music descended from Greek sources. He supposed that these three simple ratios were the basis of a principle which could be extended to define the intervals of the third, the sixth, and the second.

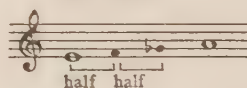
Tetrachordal Basis of the Greek Tone System

The structure which Greek musicians developed from Pythagoras' fundamental discoveries was based on a grouping of sounds called the tetrachord. The tetrachord derived its name, which means four strings, from the early form of the chief Greek stringed instrument, the kithara or lyre. The outside tones of the tetrachord were tuned to the smallest perfect interval recognized by Pythagoras, the fourth. The inside tones were tuned in accordance with the three types, or genera, of scale progression recognized by the Greeks: the diatonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic. The three types of tetrachord may be illustrated as follows:

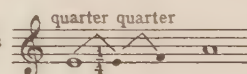
1 The diatonic genus



2 The chromatic genus



3. The enharmonic genus



The Evolution of the System

The artistic possibilities of the four-stringed kithara, represented by the theory of the tetrachord, were too limited to remain satis-

factory. From this beginning to the complete system was a long development which is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace. Probably the first step was the discovery that a seven-tone scale could be explained as being two joined tetrachords. This took place in connection with a large kithara which had seven strings. A method of joining two tetrachords so that a scale of seven tones would result would necessitate beginning the upper tetrachord on the top tone of the lower.



This was called the method of conjunction; the inner extreme tones of the two tetrachords coincide. An eight-stringed kithara made necessary a theory for a scale of eight tones. It was inevitable that this new scale be composed of tetrachords, and the obvious procedure was to join them disjunctly.



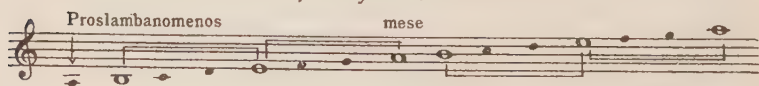
The illustrations of these two scales have been given in the diatonic genus. Seven- and eight-tone scales were possible in all three genera, the principle of tetrachord joining remaining the same. These scales had much less similarity to a modern scale than their appearance in modern notation seems to indicate. They were not seven-tone or octave scales in our sense of the word, but merely extensions of the basic tetrachord. The relationship of tones within the scale was not, as in our classic scales, the relation of all tones to a central tonic, but was, on the other hand, a relationship based upon the perception of the extremes of the tetrachord as a consonant relationship, with the tones between serving as variable, movable, passing tones. It is true, however, that the scales of the diatonic genus were felt to be more logical and useful than the others. That tentative perception of the greater naturalness of the diatonic genus was the first great step in the direction of modern tonality. Had the Greeks settled on the enharmonic genus, for

instance, the whole course of Western musical development would have been much different. We might have inherited a music similar to that of India.

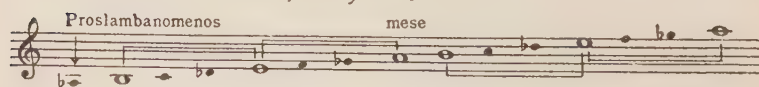
The Greater Perfect System

With the invention of the fifteen-stringed kithara, and the musical theory to support its possibilities, the Greek system reached its highest development. The scale of fifteen tones, or two octaves, was, as we have seen the more primitive scales to be, an extension of the principle that tetrachords could be joined together. The Greeks always conceived an extended tone series on the basis of the tetrachord. The Greater Perfect System, as the final development was called, made use of both methods of joining the tetrachord. It was composed of four tetrachords, the two upper and the two lower joined conjunctly, and the two in the center joined disjunctly. The pitch at which the system was placed was determined by the pitch of the kithara, which in turn probably coincided with the range of human voices. The fourth tetrachords, joined as they were, gave a scale of only fourteen tones; to complete the system, one tone, the *proslambanomenos*, or added tone, was joined at the bottom.¹

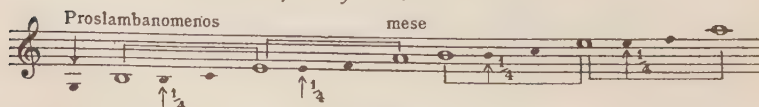
Greater Perfect System, Diatonic Genus



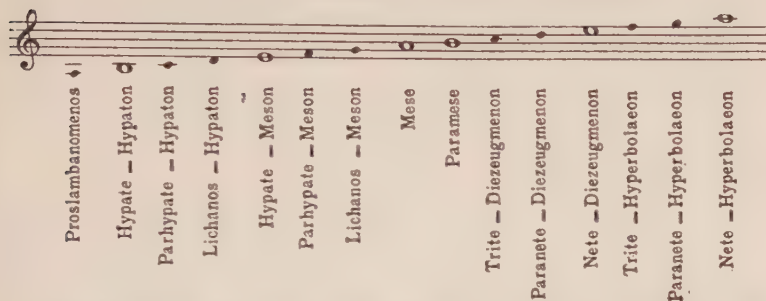
Greater Perfect System, Chromatic Genus



Greater Perfect System, Enharmonic Genus



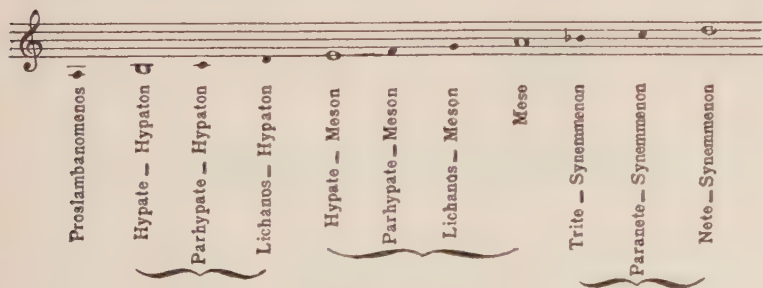
¹ Because of the position of the strings on the kithara, what we recognize as the bottom or lowest tone in the system was called the top or highest tone by the Greeks. For the sake of clarity the modern usage with regard to high and low is maintained throughout this discussion.

*Greater Perfect System, Notes and Tetrachords*²

The tetrachords of the system were named according to their relationship to each other, and the individual tones received their names from the fingering of the tetrachord on the kithara. The upper final of the second tetrachord, the A which is marked *mese* in the illustrations, was the center, or tonic of the whole system. It was the most important fixed tone. No octave segment of the system could be used without including the mese, and whatever segment was selected revolved around the mese as a center.

The Lesser Perfect System

Greek theorists also recognized the possibility of proceeding upward from the mese through a tetrachord joined conjunctly. This necessitated, because of the law governing tetrachord structure, a tone similar to our Bb. The tetrachord containing the Bb was known as *synemmenon*, and it made necessary what was known as the Lesser Perfect System.



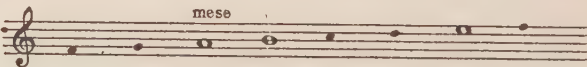
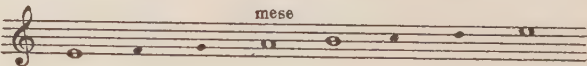
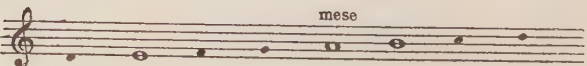




² Note that these names applied in all genera.

The Greater Perfect System and the Lesser Perfect System summed up the theory underlying most of the aspects of Greek music. It remains necessary, however, to discuss the practical, artistic application.

The Modal Scales

The practical unit of Greek music at the zenith of its development was a scale of eight tones, of which we shall discuss, for the purpose of clarity, seven kinds, or modes. The modal scales were segments of the Greater System. Their character derived, not from a changed center or tonic, as is the case in our classic system, but from the difference in pitch range between the different modes in relation to a fixed center, the mese, which remained the same for every scale.

Hypodorian	
Hypophrygian	
Hypolydian	
Dorian	
Phrygian	
Lydian	
Mixolydian	

Music composed for these modes kept returning to the mese as a center, just as classic music emphasizes its tonic center. From

this usage it will be seen that each of these modes had an entirely different feeling, owing to the fact that the mese had a different position in each one of them. Music in the Hypodorian mode would, for instance, have a *low* feeling, because the mese is at the bottom, while the Mixolydian mode would have a *high* feeling, because the mese is near the top.

Ethos

This brings us to the really important artistic aspect of Greek music. The Greeks felt a distinct difference in sensual impression between the modes and called this characteristic the "ethos" or mood of music. They evaluated the mood of each mode according to its moral value, and concluded that some modes were better than others.

Our ability to perceive this "ethos" has been dulled because the Western music we hear is much more highly developed. Fortunately, the writings of several Greek philosophers contain discussions of this very point. An incomplete table³ of the moral value of the modes would be somewhat as follows:

Hypodorian	} tender
Hypophrygian	
Hypolydian	mourning
Dorian	masterful, military
Phrygian	slack
Lydian	effeminate, soft, convivial, gossiping
Mixolydian	mourning, grief, and depression

One other point in connection with the modal scales must be noticed. They could be shifted bodily from one pitch to another. Such a transposition did not, however, change the internal relationship of the scale; the mese moved with the scale and kept its same relative position. It was simply a matter of retuning the kithara to meet the demands of the human voice. In a different pitch the scales having the mese near the top were still the high scales, and the scales having the mese near the bottom were still

³ Plato, *The Republic*, Everyman's ed., pp. 84-85; Aristotle, *Politics*, V, 8 and VI, 4.

the low scales, and their modality was still clearly recognizable. The transposition was of no more importance than our modern practice of moving from one pitch to another to suit the range of the singer's voice.

Notation

The few examples of Greek music which are still extant have been preserved because Greek musicians developed a kind of notation. Each sound could be notated by two characters, one for instruments, and one for voices. The characters were, for the most part, derived from the Greek alphabet. They had no rhythmic significance, and indicated no definite pitch—only pitch in relation to the other tones of the system. One notation for the Greater Perfect System is given. This is for the diatonic genus.

Where it was possible, the chromatic alteration of a tone was indicated by placing the figure in another position as C, C̣, or Ċ. Where the nature of the figure made that procedure impossible, another was used.



Greek Instruments

The kithara, because of its close connection with the tone system, was the most important Greek instrument. It was the Greek representative of a type of instrument which was in use in all the Mediterranean civilizations, and which can best be described as being the precursor of the modern harp. It was a plucked stringed instrument, without a finger board. The strings were stretched from a crosspiece, held in place by two uprights, to the base of the instrument, which was in some cases a soundbox.

The Greeks had one primitive brass wind instrument, the salpinx. Its use was probably military. It was a straight metal tube, which tapered from bell to mouthpiece. It had no finger holes, and its range, in all probability, was extremely limited.

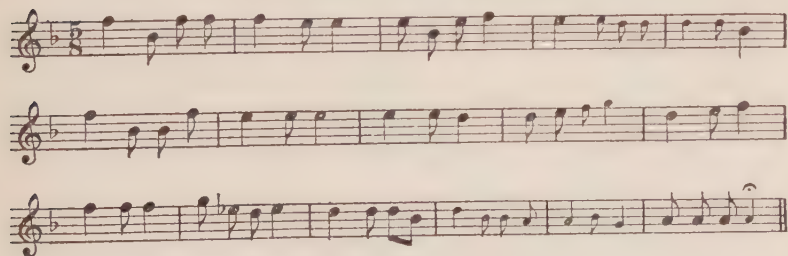
The hollow reed, in which the sound was produced by blowing either into a whistlelike mouthpiece, or across the end of the tube, was the prototype for a class of instruments to be found in every culture. In ancient Greece there were two important instruments of this sort. One was the aulos. It was a long reed, blown through a mouthpiece, with two or more finger holes. It was held to the mouth with a bandage which went around the cheeks and fastened back of the head. The same manner of playing and construction was applied to an instrument of two pipes called the di-aulos.

The syrinx, or Pan's pipe, was a popular pastoral instrument. It was a set of reeds of different lengths fastened together, and the tone was produced by blowing across one end of the reeds.

Examples of Greek Music

Of the music and musical forms of ancient Greece we know very little. We do know that the connection between music and poetry was so close that the combined arts were called "music." The supposition is that musical form followed that of poetry. Certainly the meter of the poetry furnished the rhythm for the musical accompaniment. Many of the compositions which were considered Greek by earlier historians have been discovered to be of later origin. The few melodies that are authentic exist only in fragments. Most important among these is the "Hymn to Apollo," which was discovered at Delphi in 1893. It was composed about 300 B.C. Because it is only a fragment, parts of it have had to be imagined and "reconstructed."

HYMN TO APOLLO⁴



⁴ J. Wolf, *Notationskunde*, Vol. I, p. 19.

Contributions of the Greeks

From the primitive bone whistle of Crô-Magnon to the complications of the Greek musical system is an immense development. During the period which that development represents, man had not only learned to talk, but had developed languages which merit our respect. He had learned to write, to live in cities, to have commerce with his neighbors. He had developed a civilization. In that civilization the arts, not the least important of which was music, had a place. Nature had given up the secrets of sound production. Instruments of all kinds had been invented to supplement the voice. But most important of all, sounds themselves had been subdued to order.

One sound, by and of itself, is not music. It becomes musical only when it is *related* to other sounds. That relation had been determined, before the time of the Greeks, by accident. Perhaps the reeds growing on the banks of the Nile were lush one year and dry the next. Fashioned into musical instruments the lush year, the tones of the scale they produced were wider spaced than tones from a reed which grew during a dry year. The Greeks brought order out of such a chaos. They determined the relationships that could exist between tones in a manner that with very few changes has served ever since. Their great contribution was the orderly arrangement of sounds into a musical system. Without that beginning no later development would have been possible.

Readings

Henry S. Macran

Plato

Aristotle

Johannes Wolf

Fr. Aug. Gevaert

Harold Gleason

The Harmonics of Aristoxenus

The Republic

Politics

Handbuch der Notationskunde

Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité

Examples of Music Before 1400

3

THE TRANSITION FROM GREEK TO CHRISTIAN

The Influence of Rome

WE HAVE seen that Greek music became a highly complex artistic and scientific system. Its decline coincided with that of the civilization to which it belonged. Long before Greece became a Roman colony Romans had adopted Greek culture. That adoption became, in every case, also an adaptation. Music was no exception. The subtleties of the Greek musical system as Aristoxenus, a pupil of Aristotle, had described it, were wasted in a civilization where the colosseum took the place of the theater, and where the trumpets of the soldiers were more characteristic than the pipes of the shepherds. *When the social function of music changes, a change may also be expected in the music.* In the process of adopting and adapting the music of Greek civilization, the Romans added very little that was new but lost a great deal of the old. Strange as it may seem, that process had important results. The study of Greek music brings the student face to face with numerous conceptions which are nowhere to be found in modern Western music. Many of those conceptions had to be changed or forgotten on the road from the Athens of 300 B.C. to the Vienna of 1800 A.D. or the New York of the twentieth century.

Modifications of the Greek System

The changes that took place in the period of about six hundred years, from the time of Aristoxenus until Christianity became

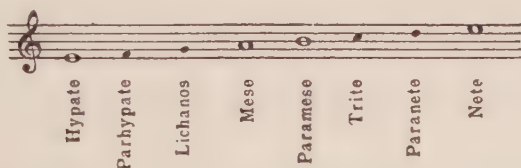
the Roman state religion early in the fourth century A.D., came about so gradually that they are difficult to trace. We have seen that the Greeks themselves felt the imperfections of their enharmonic genus. It gradually fell into disuse: the quarter tone as a musical interval has not been seriously considered again until recently. Sometime during the Roman period the same fate befell the chromatic genus.¹ The peculiar construction of the chromatic tetrachord came, as we have seen, as a direct result of the fact that it was conceived in connection with the kithara. This genus never led the Greeks to a chromatic scale in the modern sense of that term. It was the result of a highly artificial conception. Two things probably served to eliminate it. The first was the Romans' liking for wind instruments, particularly of the brass type. For the instruments of the brass family, the chromatic scale throughout the register, particularly with any ease or certainty, has been realized only recently. It probably was not possible on Roman instruments. Had Roman brass instruments been able to sound chromatic tones, it is difficult to imagine them using the Greek chromatic genus without discovering the complete chromatic scale. In the second place, a change in the conception of the diatonic scale removed it far enough from the Greek practice to destroy the tetrachord basis altogether; without the tetrachord explanation the only genus which could survive was the diatonic.

It should be evident from our study of the Greek tone system that its peculiar effects, its ethos or moral value, lay in the relationship of the tones of each scale to the complete system. The relation of tone to tone within each scale was of little importance. Names of tones, together with their notation, related them not to each other, but to the whole system. But with the gradual disuse of the enharmonic and chromatic genera, and the consequent enhanced importance of the diatonic genus, a gradual change took place in the conception of tone relationships within the scale. Virtually a new series of scales resulted which, although they retained for a time the ancient Greek nomenclature, constituted a conception of tone relationships altogether different from their old models.

¹ It should be noted that hints have been found which indicate that church musicians, until possibly the year 1000 A.D., experimented with these two genera.

The Ptolemaic System

Ptolemy, the famous mathematician and astronomer of Alexandria, who lived in the second century A.D., wrote a treatise which described this new nomenclature. The basis of the Ptolemaic system was the segment of the Greek system which was called the Dorian mode:

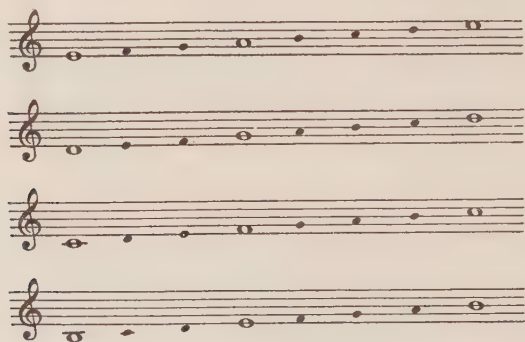


The names of the tones placed them in the system, defined, as has been said, their old functional relationship. Ptolemy, taking this Dorian scale as a model, said in effect: "Let the old functional nomenclature describe also *position within the eight-tone scale*." Thus the lowest tone of every scale would be known as hypate, the fourth as mese, etc. The final result of this reform of Ptolemy was revolutionary. The old tetrachord foundation of the scale was forgotten, and before long the new use of the old names took on not only the value which Ptolemy intended them to have, that of simplifying the terminology of position, but also the old functional value. The old functional value of the nomenclature described, however, a *new function*. The fact that between the hypate and the mese a perfect fourth always occurred became increasingly important, just as did the regular appearance of the perfect fifth between the mese and the nete. Also, and still more important, was the fact that the fixed mese of the Greeks lost its function of tonal center, and in the new scales the center was always in the same position *within the scale*.

Musical Science Disappears

Finally, to practical musicians, the old Greek nomenclature was lost altogether, and there remained a simple series of eight-tone

diatonic scales, each having in common the fact that from the final to the mese was a fourth upward or a fifth downward, and each differentiated from the other by the fact that the whole steps and half-steps appeared in different places in each scale. The government of each individual scale by its own *final* and *dominant* was taking the place of the government of all the scales by a single *mese*.



The scales illustrated lead us into the maze of contradictions and inaccuracies which surround the musical science of the dark ages. Any sort of science, to say nothing of that which served only as the foundation of an art, was the last thing that interested the inhabitants of the Roman world during the terrible centuries of the invasions from the east and north. Probably a few men in Alexandria and Byzantium retained smatterings of the musical erudition of the Golden Age. Certainly the writings of theorists like Aristoxenus and Ptolemy remained only for those who could read and understand them. Some of them still survive to furnish us our one approach to an accurate knowledge of a lost musical science.

Popular Tradition Retains Much Actual Music

But such music as remained was the everyday music of ordinary life. The professional musician, the artist, was lost in the cataclysm

which overwhelmed Rome. But as much of his practice as was really practical was retained in the great reservoir of popular tradition. Fortunately, moreover, the centuries during which Rome was losing her hold saw the beginnings of the institution which was destined to find a new use for what was left of the old art. The history of music for more than a thousand years is the history of music in the Christian Church. We shall see how the Church dipped into the reservoir of musical tradition where was preserved the remnant of the already ancient Greek art and selected the elements which were later to develop into modern Western music.

The Use of Music by the Early Church

One circumstance in early Christian worship was of vast importance to later musical development: the congregation took part in the musical part of the service. It was nothing new for music to play a large part in religious ritual; music of some kind had always been connected with worship. But in most of the older religions, such as the Hebrew and the Egyptian, the congregation was passive during the service, and the musical as well as the other parts of the liturgy were performed by the priesthood. This was not the case in the early Christian Church.

Those who have visited the catacombs which surround Rome have been forcibly reminded of the fact that the Church began its organization and development under great, almost insurmountable difficulties. For fear of the Roman legions, meetings had to be secret and clandestine. All over the Roman world the sect was persecuted. An organized priesthood which included a well-trained musical clergy was an impossibility. Each church was left, to a large extent, to devise its own music. (We shall see later how this fact accounts for many of the elements of the ritual.) Thus music, one of the decadent arts of the Greek and Roman civilization which the early Christians had cause to abhor, was assured a continuous development denied the other arts by its spontaneous inclusion as the *congregation's* contribution to the religious service. The other arts in western Europe were doomed to a long period

of quiescence because the early Church found little use for them. This was not true of music. The Church inherited and used the diffused remnants of the ancient musical tradition. The art of music suffered almost no perceptible break. It is true that it lost most of its scientific trappings, but the core of the art remained and continued to gather strength as a Christian musical tradition.

Music Compared with the Other Arts

The other arts of Greece and Rome have been mentioned twice in the foregoing paragraph. The sculpture and what is known of the painting of the ancient world reached a perfection which has always excited the wonder and admiration of moderns. Their aspect is almost as modern now as it was then. We do not imply that ancient music was unsatisfactory to the ancients when we say that it is most decidedly not satisfying now. Many modern historians who have had occasion to compare ancient music with the other arts have come to one of two conclusions: either ancient music was a great deal more "modern" than we have proof for suspecting, or ancient musicians were unbelievably less intelligent than their colleagues in the other arts. Either conclusion is based upon a false understanding of the fundamentals of art in its broad sense. *Basically, any art consists in the application of design to its materials.* Sculpture, for instance, is design applied to clay or marble. Music is design applied to sound. The fundamental difference between music and sculpture, aside from the obvious differences in the materials, is that *models for the design are found in nature* in the case of sculpture, and in the case of music *no models for the design ever existed anywhere* as natural phenomena. It is small wonder that on the basis of a modern comparison music lagged behind. Even the materials of music, in which we have thus far been chiefly interested, were conceived so differently from one age and culture to another that any cumulative effort toward design might be said to have been almost accidental.

Music needed an extra thousand years: if there ever was any rivalry between music and the other arts, music needed the extra

millennium to conquer its handicaps, to select its materials and *create its designs*. For music no dark age occurred. While the other arts were being forgotten, their creations crumbling and disintegrating, music continued to fulfill its function as *the art* of the Roman Church.

The Early Church a Cultural Melting Pot

The beginnings of most of the practices of the medieval church are to be found in the dark period between the time of the early apostles and the reign of Constantine the Great. Musically, the history of these beginnings is, to a large extent, a matter of speculation. The period was a great melting pot. We know fairly well what went into the melting, and we can trace fairly accurately what came out; but musicologists probably never will solve, to the satisfaction of everyone, the problems surrounding the processes by which the changes were brought about. It will be enough for our purposes to trace the sources.

The Christian Church was founded in Palestine, among the Jews, who already had a religious musical tradition of high antiquity. A large part of the music of the synagogue undoubtedly was transferred, along with the Old Testament, directly into the service of the new church. This music consisted of a large number of chants, settings of the psalms, and Alleluias. There is no reason to suppose that any pronounced and systematic change took place between the synagogue and the Christian Church in Palestine. That some parts of the new Hebrew practice continued even after the Church had organized with its center in Greece and later in Rome is indicated by the fact that no attempt was made to translate the word "Alleluia," a Hebrew word which has remained in the liturgy to this day.

From Palestine the new religion spread to Asia Minor and Greece. Here it was subjected to the strong impact of Greek culture. It would have been impossible to transplant unchanged a musical tradition such as that of the Jews to Greece. The Greeks translated the liturgy into Greek, and combined it with

Greek music—the sort of music with which they had an everyday familiarity. As the liturgy grew—and the Greeks made many additions to it—they continued to supply new music.

In Rome the Greek language remained for a long time the liturgical language. This fact would indicate that in all probability there was less change in the music from Greece to Rome than there was from Palestine to Greece. When the Church was finally Latinized, at least one of the parts of the service retained its Greek text, the *Kyrie eleison*.

Every Mediterranean country, in fact every single church, developed, during this period of propagation, its own manner of religious service, all of which contained music to some extent indigenous to the locality. The social status of Christianity as an obscure sect under proscription made communication difficult and central organization and unified practice almost impossible.

With the adoption of Christianity as the Roman state religion during the reign of Constantine (272-337 A.D.) the situation was entirely changed. The Church immediately made great efforts to unify its organization and doctrine throughout the Roman world. The Church Fathers realized that differences in practice, and particularly in musical practice, gave rise to fatal doctrinal differences. The problem that faced the Church was to arrive at a blending of musical practice in its liturgy that would be unified but would at the same time contain enough of the diverse elements from Palestine, Greece, Rome, Alexandria, etc., to be satisfactory in every locality.

It must be admitted that for obvious reasons such unity was never reached. Communication was slow, and no universally understood means of musical notation was at hand. Music could be transmitted by memory only. The process of building a musical liturgy lasted a long time. When a semblance of unity was finally reached, it was the result of an amalgamation which included elements of all of the music of Mediterranean cultures, predominated by Greek.

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Frank Landon Humphreys
Edward Dickinson

The Evolution of Church Music
Music in the History of the Western
Church

Peter Wagner

Einführung in die Gregorianischen
Melodien

Amédée Gastoué

Les origines du chant romain

Fr. Aug. Gavaert

Les origines du chant liturgique de
l'église latine

C. E. H. de Coussemaker

Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge

Gustave Reese

Music in the Middle Ages

Harold Gleason

Examples of Music Before 1400

4

THE MUSIC OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The Early Christian Musical Tradition

WHEN the Church finally realized the necessity of organizing a liturgy which would reflect its dignity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, it already had, as we have seen in a previous chapter, a musical tradition. This tradition was made up of two elements: first, the manner of singing, and second, a fairly large body of music. The evolution of these two elements constitutes the history of music for the dark ages.

Music in the earliest churches was, to a large extent, a spontaneous congregational activity. The next development was probably a sort of antiphonal singing in which the congregation divided and sang alternately. This custom may have arisen because the continual accession of converts who were not familiar with the

Christian songs made it necessary for the older members of the congregation to teach the new ones the service. Be that as it may, the practice of antiphonal singing was the first departure from the most primitive early Church practice.

The Development of a Musical Clergy

Before long the liturgy and church organization developed to the point where the clergy took over part of the musical function of the congregation. At this stage the antiphonal singing was between the congregation and the clergy. The entrance of the members of the priesthood was a very important development. It led to the gradual usurpation by the clergy of the whole musical service, which in turn created a body of professional musicians within the great Christian hierarchy which was taking shape as organized Christianity.

The next step in this process of growth was the introduction of the choir. In its earliest form the choir was probably a group of the musical members of the congregation which gathered near the altar. It gradually became a professional group and its members belonged to the lesser clergy. Several of the early Church Fathers began their clerical careers as choir singers. Finally the antiphonal singing took place between the performing priests and the choir. The congregation, which at the beginning had played such an important part in Christian musical practice, was finally displaced by the priesthood.

This development was a natural outcome of the process of organization through which the Church was going. The early congregations had found it necessary to depend largely upon their own resources for their music. The Christian congregations represented all the musical diversities of the Roman world. They unconsciously formed the bridge from the old to the new. Obviously, however, music as a religious art could not be expected to progress, to keep pace with the growing dignity of the Church, if it were left in the hands of the congregation. The growth of a lesser clergy whose sole function was to perform the musical service was of vast importance.

One of the privileges of a historian is to make trends and events which took centuries for their consummation appear as mere steps in a predetermined and logical process. Almost a thousand years elapsed, however, before the Church had a universally organized and trained musical clergy performing a unified liturgy. The steps in the development are obscure because trustworthy sources are exceedingly scarce.

The Early Chant

The music which was the result of this change of practice within the Church comprises a great body of chants for all religious occasions. It is still in use in the Catholic Church all over the world, and, in a modified form, in the English Church. It has several names: Gregorian chant; plain song; plain chant. In the following text it will be spoken of as plain song, although the other terms are equally correct as far as usage is concerned.

Ambrose and the Milan Tradition

Music historians have connected the names of two early churchmen with the beginnings of the plain song. The first of these was Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, near the end of the fourth century (340?-397). He was the earliest churchman, of whom we have any account, who attempted to bring order out of the chaos of the early haphazard liturgical music. Exactly what he did has never been clear, but, as St. Augustine indicates,¹ the music for the church in Milan was of a quality sufficiently outstanding to attract considerable attention.

The church at Milan has prided itself, ever since the so-called reforms of Ambrose about the year 384 A.D., on the maintenance of a musical tradition in some ways distinct from that of the rest of the Church, called the Ambrosian chant. The universal plain song and the Ambrosian chant have a great deal in common; they have developed side by side and have influenced each other.

¹ St. Augustine, *Confessions*.

The distinct contribution of Ambrose to both liturgies was the metrical hymn, several examples of which are still in existence. More important, however, is the introduction of this type of hymn into the liturgy, which will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Beginning with the Ambrosian metrical hymn, we can trace the growth of the great hymn literature to which the hymns of our own times belong. His manner of setting hymns spread rapidly throughout Christendom. Owing to this fact many hymns are called Ambrosian simply because they follow the general style of Ambrose.

Historians of music have ascribed the selection of four of the ecclesiastic modes (to be discussed later) to Ambrose, but there is no proof of their origin. He probably made a good many changes in both the verbal and musical aspects of the liturgy which impressed his contemporaries, but which have since been lost sight of in the more drastic reforms of later church musicians. The innovations made by Ambrose spread gradually to other churches. Some of them were introduced into the service at Rome during the time of Pope Celestine, whose reign extended from 422 to 432.

Gregory

Gregory the Great, pope from 590 to 604, was the second great figure in the history of early church music. The musical fame of Gregory has been sufficient to cause his name to be attached to the whole body of medieval church music; for hundreds of years it has been known as the Gregorian chant. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians have attributed to him a good many things which must have taken place between the time of Ambrose and a time much later than that of Gregory when the medieval darkness lifts a little and accounts are clearer. But the investigations of more recent historians seem to indicate more and more that Gregory the Great, far from being the almost fabulous musician and musical reformer which early accounts made him, was probably as indifferent to music as any of the popes in the obscure medieval papal succession.

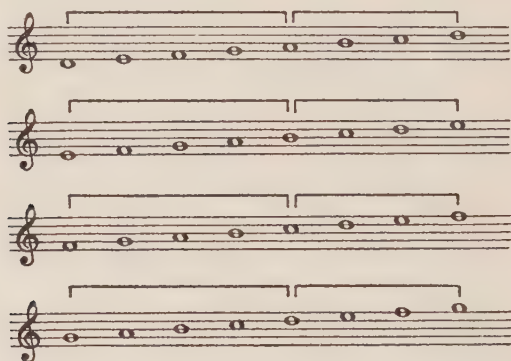


THE DIFFICULTIES OF A MUSIC HISTORIAN

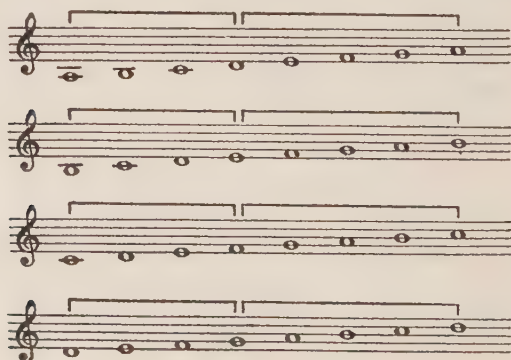
An illustration from a manuscript of the tenth century showing Gregory the Great dictating melodies to John the Deacon. Gregory was Pope from 590 to 604. John the Deacon wrote his biography of Gregory about 870. Thus, aside from the facts that Gregory did not dictate melodies and that in all probability no notation was available, Gregory and John did not live in the same centuries.

The Gregorian Modes

The discussion of the claim made for Gregory I, in connection with the ecclesiastical modal system, leads to the most difficult phase of early medieval music. Legends, no longer tenable, but accepted by historians until recently, partly because the legendary explanation was simple and partly because no other information was to be had, have accounted for the early church modes in the following manner: Ambrose, Bishop of Milan in the fourth century, selected, and admitted to use for religious music, the four authentic modes:



Gregory completed the system by adding the four plagal modes:



The completed system, in which the modes were numbered and described, according to their internal structure, as being authentic or plagal, is as follows:



NOTE: First, the finals for each pair of scales are the same; thus Mode I, authentic, and Mode II, plagal, are in reality both the same scale, the only difference being that in the first case the range is all above the final and in the second on both sides of it. This gave rise to the two kinds of cadences, which still retain the names *authentic* and *plagal*.

Second, it will be seen that there is some resemblance between these scales and those of the Greeks. The chief difference lies in the fact that the internal construction has shifted from the use of the fourth (tetrachord or diatessaron) as the governing interval, to the use of the fifth (diapente). The authentic Modes I, III, V, and VII are governed by the fifth, and the inversion which produces the plagal modes is the exact reverse of the Greek processes amended by Ptolemy.

Third, from the Greek principle of the government of all scales by the mese, in which each mode simply redefined the possible melodic range, these scales mark a distinct progression toward modern usage.²

The Real Sources of the Ecclesiastical Modes

That these scales were the invention of two men is not even remotely probable. They have too much in common with the Greek system to be anything else but a garbled version of the

² See page 18.

fundamental Greek octave scales. We have already seen that the musical theorists of the Roman period, in their efforts both to simplify and to understand the Greek system, made many far-reaching changes in both structure and nomenclature.

The fact is that these scales for which Ambrose and Gregory have so long been given credit are deductions, made nobody knows when or by whom, from the oldest chants of the Christian Church, the psalm tones, the simplest and earliest bits of music used by the Church. Very often the names *modus* and *tonus* are used interchangeably in describing the ecclesiastical system.³ They were accepted, however, as the theoretical basis for the plain song, and are consequently the important connecting link between all ancient practice and modern tonality.

Boethius

Medieval musical theory was further complicated by the treatises of the last of the Roman writers on music, Boethius, who died about 525 A.D. His work, *De musica*, was the source of erudition for well over a thousand years. Written in the fifth century, it was copied and recopied by monastics throughout the Middle Ages, and beginning about the time that Columbus discovered America⁴ was printed in edition after edition.

Boethius attached the old Greek modal names to the ecclesiastical scales, so that the scales illustrated in this chapter have been known ever since his time by Greek names. But Boethius failed miserably to understand the works from which his information came: probably Aristoxenus, Ptolemy, and the Pythagoreans. And evidently he was not enough of a practical musician to know how bad his mistakes were. He took it for granted that the scales he knew were identical with those of the Greeks. The authentic modes were, then, according to Boethius, the four chief Greek scales: Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixolydian; and the plagal

³ A discussion of the so-called "Gregorian tones" is beyond the range of a general history of music of this type. See *Grove's Dictionary*: "Gregorian Tones" and "Modes, Ecclesiastical."

⁴ *De institutiona musica*, Venice, 1492.


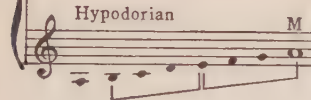
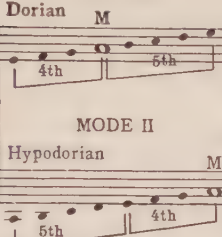
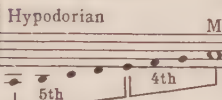
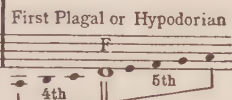
Ancient Systems Compared

Ancient Greek


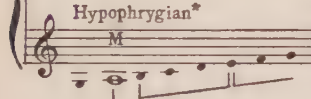
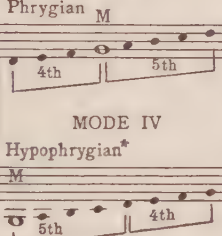

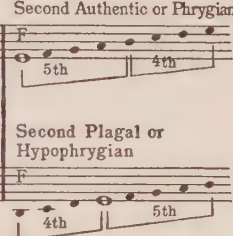
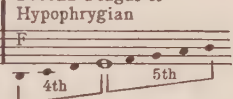
Ptolemaic

Ecclesiastic



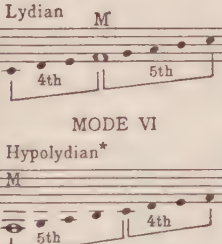
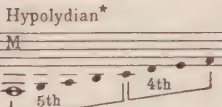
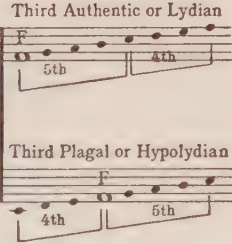
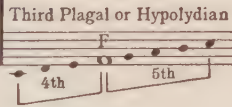
MODE I

<p>Dorian M</p>  <p>Hypodorian M</p> 	<p>Dorian M</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">MODE II</p> <p>Hypodorian M</p> 	<p>First Authentic or Dorian</p>  <p>First Plagal or Hypodorian</p> 
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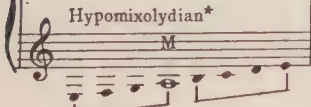
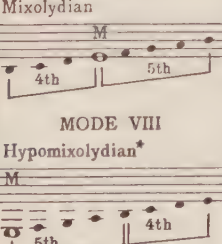
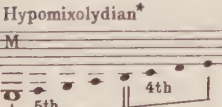
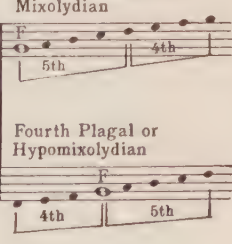
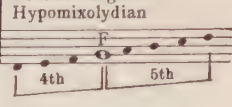
MODE III

<p>Phrygian M</p>  <p>Hypophrygian*</p> 	<p>Phrygian M</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">MODE IV</p> <p>Hypophrygian*</p> 	<p>Second Authentic or Phrygian</p>  <p>Second Plagal or Hypophrygian</p> 
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MODE V

<p>Lydian M</p>  <p>Hypolydian*</p> 	<p>Lydian M</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">MODE VI</p> <p>Hypolydian*</p> 	<p>Third Authentic or Lydian</p>  <p>Third Plagal or Hypolydian</p> 
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MODE VII

<p>Mixolydian M</p>  <p>Hypomixolydian*</p> 	<p>Mixolydian M</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">MODE VIII</p> <p>Hypomixolydian*</p> 	<p>Fourth Authentic or Mixolydian</p>  <p>Fourth Plagal or Hypomixolydian</p> 
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* Transposed an octave down.

modes were the corresponding hypo modes. Boethius' nomenclature was accepted, and the musical system remained, in theory at least, fairly static until the time of Guido of Arezzo in the eleventh century.

The Origin and Form of the Mass

The plain song and the liturgy of the Catholic Church developed together. They formed, in the minds of the Church Fathers, an inseparable unit, deriving their characters one from the other. The music followed the verbal forms so closely that it had no separate existence. In order, then, to understand the plain song, the forms of the liturgy must be clear. Although the service of the Church has been subjected to alterations, additions, and at times even purification, its form and religious content have changed but little since about the seventh century. The Mass, which, from the standpoint of the music historian, is the skeleton for the musical structure, divides naturally into two great parts: the Ordinary, or *Ordinarium Missae*, and the Proper, or *Proprium Missae*. The Ordinary is the unchanging part of the Mass, the part which from day to day and from celebration to celebration remains the same. It consists of five parts: the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria*, the *Credo*, the *Sanctus et Benedictus*, and the *Agnus Dei*.

The *Kyrie eleison* is of early Greek origin, indicated by the fact that the Greek text has never been changed to Latin.⁵ The *Gloria* is likewise of early Greek origin, and it appeared in a Latin version for use in the Roman liturgy in the sixth century. Certain limitations to its use were withdrawn as late as the eleventh century.⁶ The *Credo* expresses essentially the confession of faith adopted by the Church in 325 A.D. at Nicaea. It is the latest addition to the Roman Ordinary, having come into use in the eleventh century (1014) after a long history in Milan, Gaul, and Spain. In the latter country it had been in use since the sixth century (589).⁷ The *Sanctus et Benedictus* is of very early origin, prob-

⁵ P. Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, p. 6.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

ably Greek, and it long remained a congregational song before it was finally given to the choir.⁸ The *Agnus Dei* was introduced into the Roman ritual by Pope Sergius I, a Syrian pope who died in 701 A.D.⁹ and who was anxious to include in the liturgy of the Latin church a section similar to one already existing in the Eastern ritual.

The texts of the various parts of the Ordinary, with only one¹⁰ exception, never change; moreover, they are the center around which revolve all the religious celebrations of the year. They are all of hymnlike origin. The *Gloria*, for instance, carries in several song books the title *Hymnus angelicus*. Their common and frequent use, together with their ancient origin and liturgical function, has given them a unity and simplicity of both phraseology and musical setting which differentiates them from any other music we know, either within or outside the vast plain-song literature.

The Proper of the Mass includes a large number of specialized parts, some of very ancient origin and some that were added fairly late in the Middle Ages. Hymns, Introits, Collects, Epistles and Lessons, Graduals, Tracts, Gospels, Offertories, Secrets, Alleluias, Prefaces, Communion, Post Communion—in fact all parts of the liturgy having a musical setting and not belonging to the Ordinary—constitute the Proper. Some of them are so important as connecting links between the music of the ancient world and our own that they deserve some special attention.

The Graduals, so called because they were responsorial and the solo singer stood a step above the congregation on the Gradus, are a direct outgrowth of a similar part of the Jewish synagogue service. The solo singer functioned exactly as had the cantor in the older service. Not until after the death of Gregory the Great can any words used for the Graduals be found which did not come from the Psalms. The Graduals, then, may be called the oldest part of the Mass, an alternation at first of solo and congregation and later of solo and choir. The music that developed around this solo func-

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Miserere nobis* and *Dona nobis pacem* in the *Agnus Dei* change to *Dona eis requiem sempiternam* for the Requiem Mass.

tion was much more florid than any of the music of the Ordinary which grew altogether out of the congregational singing. We must notice here, then, an early differentiation in musical type, the beginning of the vocal cultivation of a solo part.

Very closely related to the Graduals are the Alleluias, which were at first a call to the psalm singing. The Alleluia song had been, as sung by the Hebrew cantor, a strikingly florid melody; and that character, if not the identical melodies, became the tradition in the Christian version of the same song. On days that were devoted to penitence, atonement, and sorrow, the Alleluia was replaced by the Tract, a type of liturgical song even more closely related to the Hebrew service. It is probable that here some Hebrew melodies have remained almost intact.

We have seen that one stage in the development of Christian song was marked by the antiphonal singing of different parts of the congregation. This type carried over into the fully developed liturgy in the form of antiphonal Introits, Offertories, and Communions, sung by choir and soloists.

With the virtual completion of the great plain-song tradition the Church had made itself the vehicle by which most of what was important in ancient music would eventually be transferred to a later civilization. Of hardly less importance were the changes, additions, and amalgamations through which music was to go in the hands of the churchmen. Without being aware of it, the earliest churchmen had begun the process.

The Hymn

The hymn, although at first a prose composition, and as such the precursor of most of the Ordinary of the Mass, continued to be to the members of the congregations the most interesting part of the musical service. This is sufficiently proved by the immense literature of hymns spreading from Asia Minor westward and finding its high point in the Ambrosian metrical hymn, when its importance to the Western liturgy begins. The hymn has continued to be the congregation's contribution to the musical part of the service. More important still is the contribution of the

metrical hymn to the gradual process of growth by which music has become emancipated from the tyranny of language and developed its own artistic structure.

Music and Language

The early Christians refused to have anything to do with the instrumental music which they might have inherited from the ancient world. By limiting their musical tradition, which much later was to be the matrix out of which modern music grew, to choral music, they unconsciously made more difficult the process by which an independent self-sufficient musical art could develop. In other words, music was destined to be bound to language for a good many centuries. The first sign of growing musical strength is the beginning of the breakdown of the Latin language.

The outstanding language trait upon which classic poetry was based was the quantity or length value of the vowel sounds. The poetic foot was a combination of long and short vowels. Music connected with poetry whose structure was based on quantity would, unless a deliberate falsification were to occur, be under the necessity of imitating that quantity. Consequently no rhythmic independence could develop in the music. But by the fourth century A.D., owing perhaps to the fact that Latin had come into contact with countless other less subtle tongues, the quantity value of the vowels was being displaced by speech accent as a basis for the poetic foot. Such is the case with the Ambrosian metrical hymns.

It must not be understood that the rhythm of the musical setting of the Ambrosian hymn was any less dependent upon the structure of the poetic foot than had been the case previously. The important advance lies in the fact that poetry was changing its rhythmic structure to what we later recognize as the normal and natural musical rhythmic basis, not the regular succession of long and short, but the regular succession of strong and weak.

The Ambrosian hymn became a rhythmic formula, iambic tetrameter, based upon speech accent, as can be readily seen in

the first lines of the four hymns which can be safely ascribed to Ambrose:

Āeterne	rerum	conditor	
Deus	creator	omnium	
Jam	surgit	hora	tertia
Veni	redemptor	gentium	¹¹

Perhaps the importance of the rhythmic structure of the Ambrosian hymn can be overemphasized. Obviously, the part played by poetry of this kind in relation to the whole body of plain song, based largely on prose rhythms, is very slight. But here, at least, was seeping into the tradition which was the immediate ancestor of modern Western music, a simple, "folklike" musical structure which was later to find its justification in the process which eventually freed music from its bondage to language.

The Spread of Roman Methods

Such, then, was the music of the early Church. A thorough knowledge of and an adept ability to perform the chant were required of the innumerable missionaries who were carrying the Christian doctrines into the forests of northern Europe. Augustine, who went to England in 597 A.D., introduced the chant at Canterbury and York. Boniface and Ildefonso planted it in Germany and Spain in the seventh century. Charlemagne sent his clerics to Rome to learn it, and in 803 A.D. the Council of Aachen required all monasteries to use the Roman song. The monasteries all over northern Europe thus became centers for its cultivation. The monastery at St. Gall, in Switzerland, established in the seventh century by an Irish monk, became, about 790 A.D., one of the great centers of the plain-song tradition, when the brotherhood persuaded Romanus, one of two monks who were carrying a knowledge of the chant to Charlemagne, to remain there.

¹¹ P. Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, Vol. I, p. 46.

Notation

One great difficulty with which these church musicians were faced was that of remembering the liturgical music. The amount had become so great that to reproduce it all must have been a staggering mnemonic feat. The Greeks, as we have already seen, made use of a kind of "letter" notation which identified tones within the Greater Perfect System in their relation to each other. It furnished neither a graphic picture of the sound nor a positive pitch identification. Remnants of the Greek notation remained as part of practical usage as late as the fourth Christian century. But the men who used it showed that they understood it but slightly. In this long period during which the Greek notation was being misused and finally forgotten, there were gradually being conceived, however, two systems for aiding the musical memory which were to furnish the succeeding generations of musicians with a basis for a complete notation.

Letter Notation—the Monochord

The first of these we may call a more or less direct outgrowth of the Greek notation. It is known as the Latin letter notation, and was used in connection with the monochord. The monochord was an instrument¹² in use all through the Middle Ages,¹³ which probably dated back to the time of Pythagoras. It was used simply to determine pitch and intervals. Its relation to medieval theory is much the same as was that of the kithara to the Greek theory; but unlike the kithara, it had no musical function other than that of a pitch pipe. The tradition with regard to the length and size of its one string, together with the weight with which the string should be stretched, made possible among musicians who were familiar with the use of the instrument a fair amount of agreement with regard to pitch. At no time during the thousand and more years in which this instrument was the pitch regulator did

¹² To be discussed later in its relation to instrumental development.

¹³ Wolf, *Notationskunde*, Vol. I, p. 37.

the complete systems include more tones than the composite range of the human voice. This fact precluded the possibility of any great variation from the norm.

Boethius gives the letter notation for the tones of the Greater Perfect System which had some currency in his day.¹⁴ The string on the monochord was tuned to the proslambanomenos (what we would call the low A of the system)¹⁵ which is given the letter A. The string is then so divided that its middle, the Greek mese, gives the octave of the A, to which tone Boethius gives the letter O. To the tone given out by one-fourth of the total length of the string Boethius gives the letters LL. To the tones of the complete diatonic system Boethius gives, then, the following method of identification:¹⁶

A	B	C	E	H	I	M	O	X	Y	CC	DD	FF	KK	LL	(Boethius)
A	B	c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c'	d'	e'	f'	g'	a'	(Modern)

A comparison of this diagram with the one illustrating the Greek notation (see Chapter 2) will show that Boethius records simply the substitution of Latin symbols for Greek. The important change, not indicated by such a comparison, is the fact that this notation was a means of pitch identification for use in connection with the monochord.

After some simplification by Boethius one other step was necessary to complete this type of notation, and that awaited the recognition of octave repetition. The earliest traces of the reduction of the letters used to seven, which could be repeated at each octave, exactly in accordance with our modern usage, is to be found in connection with the growing use of instruments, particularly the organ, during the tenth century.¹⁷ The tone materials of the early Middle Ages finally included the following, described almost exactly as we would today describe it:

A B C D E F G a b c d e f g a

¹⁴ Boethius, *op. cit.*, IV, 6-12.

¹⁵ See Chapter 2.

¹⁶ Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 37.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 46-47.

One tone had been added below the proslambanomenos of the Greeks, designated by the Gamma,¹⁸ which still later theory has simply changed to G:

G A B c d e f g a b c' d' e' f' g' a'

As far as is known, the first musician to have used the seven-letter notation as we use it was Odo of Cluny, a theorist and composer who died at Rheims in 942 A.D.¹⁹ The Latin letter notation, as it developed from the Greek practice and was modified by Boethius and others, was actually in use until the other type of notation, which was also developing, had reached the point where the two could be amalgamated. As a matter of fact, before the integration of the two finally occurred, they were both used together, as is shown in several examples which are still extant. Illustrations may be seen in the *Paleographie Musicale* VIII.

The Neumatic Notation

The exact chronology of the invention and introduction into western Europe of the other notation which came into widespread use in connection with the plain song is still indistinct. The system of notation by *neumes*, the so-called Latin or Roman neumatic notation, has been the subject of an immense amount of study and research, particularly by the Benedictines of the abbey at Solesmes. Its use and meaning are now much better understood than its origin. It seems fairly clear, however, that it developed in the East. There is a great similarity between the Byzantine, the so-called New Greek, the Armenian, the Old Russian and the Latin neume systems; enough to lend certitude to the supposition that they all have the same Eastern origin. We are here chiefly concerned with the Latin or Western aspect of the neumes.

¹⁸ It is of interest to note that the medieval name of this low G is the source of the old English name for scale, gamut, and the present French word *gamme* which also means scale.

¹⁹ Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 48; Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*, Vol. VII, p. 224.

Notations by means of neumes developed from two sources: the accents of the grammarians and the chironomy of the chorus leader.²⁰ The accent marks were the basic neume figures: the *acutus* /, which had indicated a rising inflection of the voice in reading, indicated a higher pitch, and the *gravis* \, which had indicated a falling inflection, indicated a lower pitch. The *virga* — indicated that a pitch already arrived at was to be maintained. The *punctum* • had the same function as the *virga*, but indicated a sound of shorter duration. Developing from these basic forms and from the motions with which a director indicated pitch to his singers was a whole series of figures which showed graphically the direction of the melodic line. They can best be given in a table.

Neumes picturing one tone:

/	<i>acutus</i>
\	<i>gravis</i>
—	<i>virga</i>
•	<i>punctum</i>

Neumes picturing a two-tone group:

✓	<i>podatus</i> = <i>gravis</i> and <i>acutus</i>
∩	<i>clivis</i> = <i>acutus</i> and <i>gravis</i>

Neumes picturing a three-tone group:

! (three dots ascending)	<i>scandicus</i> = three ascending tones
/ (three dots descending)	<i>climacus</i> = three descending tones
∞ (low-high-low)	<i>torculus</i> = three tones, low-high-low
N (high-low-high)	<i>porrectus</i> = three tones, high-low-high

²⁰ G. Schünemann, *Geschichte des Dirigierens*, p. 27; J. Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 61.

The Value and Faults of the Neumes

The system of neumatic notation made it possible for the church musicians more accurately to remember their melodies. Actually, however, the neumes were not much more than an aid to the memory, and it is doubtful if by their help any musician could ever read a melody that was new to him. They had no clearly discernible rhythmic significance except for the difference between the punctum and the virga. That was not, at the time, a serious drawback, because the music depended for its rhythm upon the words. But their great fault, which was felt keenly even by musicians of the time, among whom Hucbald²¹ and Cotton²² might be cited, was the fact that they did not define intervals. The fact remains that the neumes were in use all over Europe as a universal musical notation by the ninth century.

Along with the complaints made against the weaknesses of the neumes we find the results of experiments made to correct those weaknesses. The final outgrowths of the attempts to correct this early notation were two: the development of what eventually became virtually a new notation, and the gradual forgetting of the old. By the fifteenth century, nobody could any longer read the early neumes.²³ Beginning in the eighteenth century musical scholars such as Martini, Gerbert, Baini, and Burney attempted to solve the riddle offered by the old notation. The research was given great impetus by the desire of the Roman Church to revise its plain song back to its earliest and purest forms. But scholars have finally all agreed that the neumes, of and by themselves, cannot be deciphered. The only possible way in which they can be read has been worked out by the monks of Solesmes, and that is by comparison with later manuscripts which are decipherable.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100-101.

²² Gerbert, *Scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 258. Cotton says with regard to the accuracy with which the neumatic notation could be read: "The same marks which Master Trudo sang as thirds, were sung as fourths by Master Albinus; and Master Salomo in another place even asserts the fifths to be the notes meant, so that at last there were as many methods of singing as teachers of the art."

²³ Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 97.

The Use of Two Notations

We are, however, chiefly interested in the steps by which this neumatic notation was converted into one that was more usable and more closely related to our own. The first and most obvious was exactly what occurred. The two notations which have been described in this chapter were combined. Hucbald, early in the tenth century, wrote: "If therefore over or around these signs for the single tones we place those small letters which we accept as musical notes, then it will be possible to discover with perfect truth and without mistake what these [letters] let be known, concerning how much higher or lower each tone shall be sung."²⁴

For one reason or another, probably because the double notation was too awkward, Hucbald's prescription did not become a widespread usage, and Hucbald himself made other experiments. Only a very few monuments, most important of which is the Montpellier Antiphony, remain of the double notation.

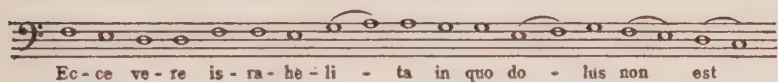
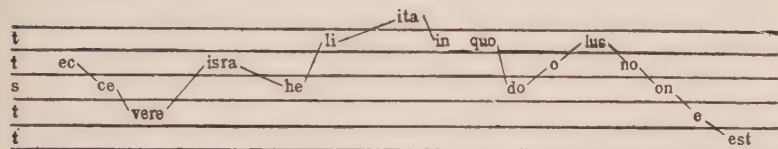
The Staff: Hucbald and Guido

Here and there in the old manuscripts, a few of them dating back to even before the beginning of the eleventh century, are to be found traces of the idea which was to furnish notation with the staff. The staff was not, as a good many historians would have us believe, the invention of Guido, the monastic musician of Arezzo who lived during the first half of the eleventh century. Had he been the inventor, music history at this point would be a great deal simpler. As a matter of fact, the staff evolved in connection with at least three phases of medieval music. It was used to depict the strings of an instrument. It was used in connection with the Latin letter notation, and lastly, and very gradually, it was used with the neumatic notation.

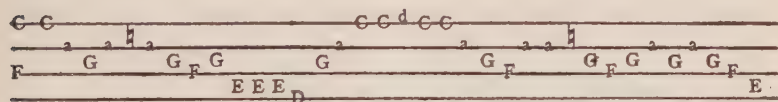
Hucbald was one of the earliest to use the staff as representing

²⁴ Hucbald, *Liber de musica*; Gerbert, *Scriptores*, Vol. I, p. 118.

the strings of an instrument. He gave an example in his *Harmonio Institutio*²⁵ in which he divided the syllables on a six-line staff, each line of which represented a string. The spaces between the lines were marked with *t* (tonus, for whole tone), and *s* (semitonus, for half tone).



Guido, in his famous treatise, the *Micrologus*,²⁶ places the letters of his version of the Latin letter notation upon a four-line staff, the lines of which no longer represent strings. In Guido's staff both lines and spaces have pitch significance, and two of the lines are given clef signs, the F and the C, from which have developed our own clefs.



Thus it may be seen that before any very widespread attempt had been made to solve the problem of giving accurate pitch value to the neumes, the staff was at hand, at least in the works of the theorists. But the process by which the neumes were finally placed on a four-line staff was not simply the adoption of the staff already at hand, but was in itself a long development lasting from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries.

The earliest examples show simply a line scratched above the words, with the neumes grouped on and around it. No definite

²⁵ Gerbert, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 109; Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 52.

²⁶ Gerbert, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 12; Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

pitch is indicated for the line, but a mark called the *kustos*²⁷ at the end of each line indicates relatively the pitch at which the melody of the next line will begin. About the middle of the eleventh century some of the Italian manuscripts carry a red line, and a little later that line is marked F. A little later manuscripts began to carry a yellow C line in addition to the red F line. At least part of the neumes could be accurately located as to pitch.

At this point in the story of the use of the staff and the neumes together Guido made his famous appearance before Pope John XIX with an Antiphonary noted according to his teaching, which could be read at sight.²⁸ The story of this incident made such an impression on his contemporaries and followers that it is small wonder that Guido has been called the inventor of the staff.

Roman Choral Notation













During the twelfth century, Guido's reform spread throughout Italy, France, Spain, and England, and by the fifteenth century the practice of placing the neumes on a four-line staff had become so universal that musicians, as has been said before, had forgotten how to read the older notation. The new notation took slightly different forms in different localities, but finally reached a static point in the Roman Choral Notation. In Germany the Gothic Choral Notation differed in some ways from the Roman, but it is the Roman practice in which we are chiefly interested.

The Forms of the Neumes on the Staff

The neumes themselves underwent some change and modification in the process of being placed on the staff. The final result of that process can best be shown by a diagram of both forms of the ten basic neumatic figures:

²⁷ The *kustos*, as an aid to sight reading, has remained in the Roman Choral Notation until the present.

²⁸ Gerbert, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 44; Wolf, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 133.

<i>virga</i>	—	became	
<i>punctum</i>	•	became	
<i>acutus</i>	/	became	 or 
<i>gravis</i>	\	became	 or 
<i>podatus</i>	✓	became	
<i>clivis</i>	∩	became	
<i>scandicus</i>	:/	became	
<i>climacus</i>	/:	became	
<i>torculus</i>	∪	became	
<i>porrectus</i>	N	became	

The Roman Choral Notation proved to be perfectly satisfactory as a means of notating the plain song, and as such has remained in constant use ever since.

Value of Notation

The story of the development of notations thus far has carried us from very early in the Christian Era to the fifteenth century. But the greatest value of that notation has not as yet been mentioned. *It lightened immeasurably the task of composing.* The discoveries which this new tool for composition helped to make possible during this same period were destined to revolutionize the whole course of musical development. To them we must now give our attention.

Readings

Charles Robert Hope
Frank Landon Humphreys
Edward Dickinson

Medieval Music
The Evolution of Church Music
Music in the History of the Western
Church

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| C. F. Abdy Williams | <i>The Story of Notation</i> |
| Gustave Reese | <i>Music in the Middle Ages</i> |
| Harold Gleason | <i>Examples of Music Before 1400</i> |
| Fr. Aug. Gavaert | <i>Les origines du chant liturgique de
l'église latine</i> |
| Peter Wagner | <i>Geschichte der Messe
Einführung in die Gregorianischen
Melodien</i> |
| Hugo Riemann | <i>Die Entwicklung Unserer Notenschrift
Notenschrift und Notendruck</i> |
| Johannes Wolf | <i>Handbuch der Notationskunde</i> |
| G. Schünemann | <i>Geschichte des Dirigierens</i> |
- Antiphonale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis)
- Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis* (H. Dessain)

Part Two: The Medieval Period

PROLOGUE:

CHURCH, CHIVALRY, FEUDALISM

CITIZENS of the twentieth century are familiar with some of the meanings involved in the word "depression." Many of us have had occasion to imagine a world in which the familiar social organization gradually breaks down and finally almost disappears. It may be that the twentieth-century world stands at the threshold of such a depression and disintegration while our hopes for a brighter future prevent us from seeing clearly the evidence before our eyes. Certainly in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. the citizens of the Christian Roman world lived at the beginning of such a calamity, not being aware of what it was to mean to their civilization.

The Dark Ages are no longer dark in the sense that we know so very little about them, but in the long course of civilization they will remain dark because they mark a breakdown of the organized life of the Roman world, a long, dismal, unalleviated depression. The centrifugal forces inherent in the artificial unity of Rome tore the empire apart. The intrusions from the outside, personified by hordes of barbarians from the north and east, ripped into the very

heart of a world that had known security for centuries. Armies and police forces disintegrated, transportation and supply gradually disappeared, century-old loyalties were forgotten. In the struggle for existence schools disappeared, the arts were forgotten, people neglected to learn to read and write. The land had too many buildings and there was no need to build more. Cities, roads, aqueducts, tombs, theaters, temples came to stand only as reminders of a civilization that was gone: yearned after, wondered at, but nevertheless no longer attainable. The very language of civilization began to sound like a strange tongue—ceased to sound altogether where barbarisms drove it out.

All this happened so slowly that the change from one generation to the next was scarcely perceptible. But it went on for a period almost as long as from the discovery of America to the present, and the accumulation of things forgotten was almost incalculable.

One institution, the Christian Church, maintained a continuous existence throughout this long period. The Church, moreover, constantly grew in strength and unity over the centuries. It inherited some of the governmental and legal forms of the ancient world. It remembered what was retained of ancient culture and language. It used and kept in repair some of the buildings. It kept records, remembered some of its own history. It taught and thought. It encouraged men, however, to regard this world only as a dark prelude to a happier existence in an ideal world that was to follow. Until men began to find again a widening horizon for learning and beauty in secular life the Church was almost the only light in a dark world. As the darkness began to fade, toward the end of the first millennium, it is possible to discern the emergence of a new world, building from currents of interest of its own, remote from the almost

forgotten ancient world. The people of Europe spoke new languages in which were heard only faint echoes of the old tongues. The new languages were beginning to have a lore of their own: stories of the adventures of "modern" times or tales of the northern peoples whose forebears were the ancient barbarians. Chivalry produced its own poetry and the crusading journeys to the East showed the European a completely new and "romantic" world. This quickening of life brought with it wealth and motivation for new building: the foundations were laid shortly after the year 1000 A.D. for many of the masterpieces of early Gothic architecture. Sites were chosen for towns which are now great cities. New monastic orders were founded and needed to be housed. Groups of scholars here and there took on gradually the organization of the institution which was to be known as the University. Peasants broke the bonds of feudalism and moved to the towns, skilled workmen organized guilds, tradesmen became merchants and merchants became money lenders and wealthy. Monks, scholars, wealthy merchants, and kings needed books, and soon wanted them to be beautiful.

Through all this the Church maintained and increased its greatness. From being the only light in a dark world it became the brightest light in the dawn.

Between 800 and 1050 western Europe made enough contacts with the Byzantine culture of the East and the Muslim culture of Spain and northern Africa to secure for her scholars many of the literary works of the ancient world. The writings of Aristotle in particular, even in the indirect translations which were available, held a tremendous appeal for medieval "schoolmen." Many religious beliefs seemed to be in conflict with what men saw about them in everyday life, and the scholastics turned avidly to Aristotle

for a method of reasoning which could help them build their theology into a complete philosophical system. Beginning with Abelard (1070-1142), and continuing through Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) to St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), the dependence of the medieval thinker on patterns of thought inherited from ancient Greece increased steadily. The greatest literary work of the medieval world, The Divine Comedy of Dante (1265-1321), stands as a climax in this process.

The Divine Comedy was written by a man who worked and walked with those whose interest in the ancient world was to lead them forward into the Renaissance, who were to discover that the world had once been full of secular interests.

As we turn to the music of the medieval period we must remember that the institution which gave characteristic tone and color to men's lives, the Church, had a vitally important everyday use for music. It approached the solution of the problems involved in this use in the same spirit in which it approached its other problems. There are striking similarities between such characteristically Gothic structures as a cathedral, a Summa Theologica and a polyphonic Mass. As we trace the rather intricate course of music through this period, we may well remember that the musician's problems were the problems of the men who were fighting the Crusades, organizing the guilds, illuminating the books, teaching the schools, thinking the philosophy, preaching the sermons, writing the poetry, and building the cathedrals. They were doing all this, and in doing it they were helping to build, on ancient foundations, the structure of Western civilization, which includes Western music.

5

THE BEGINNINGS OF POLYPHONY: 850-1050 A.D.

Character of Early Medieval Musical Art

SUCH steps as already have been recounted in the development of music from the disorderly chaos of the prehistoric primitive to the comparatively well-regulated use of music by the medieval Christian Church have displayed little of a revolutionary nature. The story can be retraced briefly in a few words. First, the discovery of pitch difference and rhythmic pulsation, and their value in connection with language and dance. Next, the attempts to systematize pitch relationships which achieved, as we have seen, different results in different parts of the world. At the same time, instruments were being invented and the physical properties of sound were little by little being subjected to human understanding. Gradually the materials of a tonal art were being assembled. But they had been confined to melody and, as far as the music of the Church was concerned, except in the case of a few Ambrosian hymns, an unaccented rhythm. Music making use of accented rhythms probably existed in a popular form, but evidences of it are exceedingly difficult to trace until a later period. The great contribution of the early Church was the creation of the first surviving body of musical literature.

If one of us could be transplanted to the Europe of the year 800 A.D. we would find very little that would appeal to us as being *musical art*. But if we stayed long enough, we would learn that, strange as it would seem to us, music was functioning to its devotees as both an art and a science. It is invaluable, for maintaining a proper perspective in all of our study, to remember

that music has always been an art, even at the periods which seem to have been devoted only to what is from our standpoint transition and development. We would learn, too, that music was being increasingly considered as a science. That is just another way of saying that musicians were becoming curious about its materials. Had they discovered all that there was to know about music? To the transplanted onlooker it would be obvious that they had not; to most men of the ninth and tenth centuries music had already reached perfection, and those whose curiosity led them farther than to a renewed study of ancient Greek theory were probably looked upon as revolutionaries who were interested in things which would surely spoil the beauties of music.

A Revolutionary Tendency

As is almost always the case, the first traces of a revolutionary tendency are of greater interest to the historian than is the broad stream upon which those tendencies are borne. And of extraordinary interest and importance are the beginnings of the movement that added harmony, a resource undreamed of to any system but our own, to our slowly growing wealth of musical materials. Harmony, the sounding together of musical tones, found its beginning in the polyphonic developments of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

Polyphony

The ancient Greeks, in the recognition of the phenomenon inherent in the sounding of changed and unchanged voices together, by applying to it the term *magadizing*, often have been credited with having made the first step toward polyphony. In one sense that is true; certainly the earliest polyphony made use of musical conceptions which were discovered by the Greeks. However, the fundamental principle of polyphonic music, which was an independence of voice structure added to the necessary cohesion between voices, is not present in what we know of Greek musical theory.

A practice called indiscriminately by two names, *diaphony* and *organum*, which was recognized by the writers of the tenth century as having already some currency among musicians, introduced the beginnings of true polyphony. *Here, for the first time, the theories of the Greeks concerning consonance and dissonance were applied to simultaneous sounds.*

Early stages of organum may be differentiated by the kind of motion and intervals between voices. On that basis we shall proceed to a discussion of them.

Strict Organum

Strict organum is the name by which the earliest polyphony is known. It is described and illustrated in the *Musica enchiriadis*, a manual of music attributed to Odo of Cluny (819-942). The

*Strict Organum at the Fourth*¹

a) In two parts

Principal Voice

Organal Voice

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

b) In four parts

Organal Voice doubled at the octave above *

Principal Voice

Organal Voice

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

Principal Voice doubled at the octave below

¹ Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. II, p. 306.

motion allowed in strict organum was parallel, and the intervals between voices were limited to the pure consonances, the unison, fourth, fifth, octave, eleventh, and twelfth. Fundamentally, the texture consisted of two voices, principal voice (*vox principalis*) and the organal voice (*vox organalis*); these voices could be either a fourth or a fifth apart. More voices were obtained simply by doubling at the octave the principal and organal voices. The illustration on p. 61 and the following illustration are given by the author of the *Musica enchiriadis*, using the staff notation described in Chapter 4:

Strict Organum at the Fifth ²

The image displays two musical examples of 'Strict Organum at the Fifth' using square neumes on four-line red staves. Each example consists of four staves: two for the first system and two for the second system. The top staff of each system is labeled 'Organal voice doubled at the octave above' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Principal voice doubled at the octave below'. The middle two staves are labeled 'Principal voice' and 'Organal voice' respectively. The lyrics are written below the staves.

Example 1:

Organal voice doubled at the octave above

Sit glo - - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

Principal voice

Organal voice

Sit glo - - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

Principal voice doubled at the octave below

Example 2:

Organal voice doubled at the octave above

lae - ta - bi - tur Do - mi - nus in o - pe - ri - bus su - is.

Principal voice

Organal voice

lae - ta - bi - tur Do - mi - nus in o - pe - ri - bus su - is.

Principal voice doubled at the octave below

The examples quoted are worth some examination.³ First, it will be seen that increasing the number of parts does not really

² Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. II, p. 133 (1864 ed.).

³ The author suggests that they be *sung*, not played.

increase the number of true voices; that no matter how many times the principal voice and organal voice are doubled, the actual independence, at this stage obviously very slight, is confined to two voices. Second, close examination will disclose that whether the organum is at the fourth or at the fifth, when the voices are doubled at the octave, both intervals are present in a parallel series. Of greatest importance, however, is the occurrence, in the example of organum at the fourth, of the interval, not of the perfect but of the augmented fourth, the so-called *tritone*. Its appearance is marked by asterisks. It is curious that Odo allowed this interval to appear in his illustration, because he later notes with emphasis that organum at the fourth is, on account of this tritone, unsuited to the kind of treatment involved in organum unless alterations are made. The apparent lack of consistency may perhaps be explained by the fact that the alterations⁴ necessary were made by the performers without any indication being given by the composer. As a matter of probable fact, "organizing" a plain song was, at this stage, largely a singing technic, controlled by the rules covering organum.⁵

Free Organum

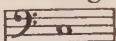
The tritone could not always be avoided simply by altering the tone of the organal voice to make a perfect fifth, owing to limitations imposed by medieval theory.⁶ The method which was adopted in that case gave rise to the next type of organum, to which we shall give the name *free organum*.

The method of free organum consisted in holding the organal voice stationary on the tone preceding the one which would produce the tritone until the principal voice had reached a point

⁴ At a later period, the inclusion of the notational sign for the alteration was looked upon by singers as being a reflection upon their ability. The sign went, in Germany, by the name *Eselszeichen*.

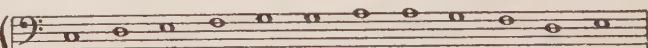
⁵ The author has heard an impromptu "barbershop" quartet "harmonize" in a way that produced perfect examples of organum at the fifth.

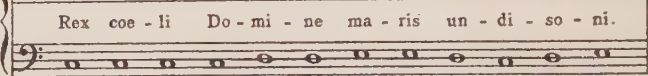
⁶ For a more complete explanation of this point, which is beyond the scope of this text, see *Oxford History of Music*, Vol. I, pp. 13-14.

where the parallel motion could again continue. This method had the effect of limiting the range of the organal voice at the bottom to the bass clef C: 

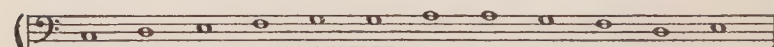
The fact that this low C coincides with the lowest tone of the newly introduced medieval organ has given rise to an interesting theory to which we may digress for a moment. There is some evidence, and more conjecture, which connects the word organum

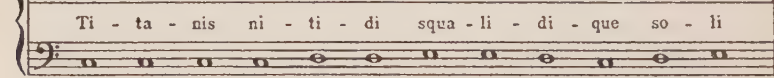
FREE ORGANUM AT THE FOURTH⁷

Principal Voice 

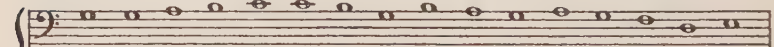
Organal Voice 

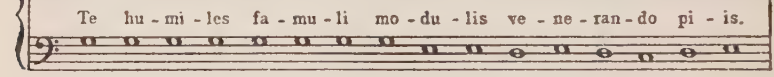
Rex coe - li Do - mi - ne ma - ris un - di - so - ni.



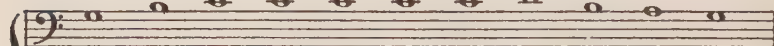


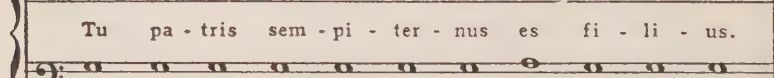
Ti - ta - nis ni - ti - di squa - li - di - que so - li





Te hu - mi - les fa - mu - li mo - du - lis ve - ne - ran - do pi - is.





Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

(if not its alternate, diaphony) with the organ. If organum was a method of singing which grew out of the use of the organ, there is some reason to suppose that the range of the organ would limit the singing range. Were that the case, the necessity of avoiding the B \flat for theoretical reasons would not account for the limitation of range. Be that as it may, some of Odo's illustrations actually do go below the ordinary low limit, a fact for which those who advance the "organ" theory offer no explanation.

⁷ Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 138; Forkel, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 308.

Strict organum was defined in terms of the motion and intervals involved. Free organum may be defined on the same basis. Its method adds to the parallel motion and pure consonances of strict organum two very important additions, oblique motion and the intervals of the major and minor third and the major second. The illustration on p. 64 is also taken from the *Musica enchiriadis*.

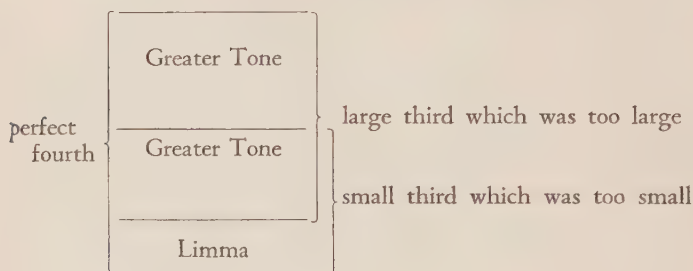
Contrapuntal Ideals: Tuning

Free organum marks a distinct advance over the not much older strict organum. But that advance is not as great as a first examination would seem to indicate. The voices have greater independence of movement, owing to the oblique relationship which at times occurs between them. And the vertical intervals now include the second and third. The seconds and thirds, however, were not regarded as interesting and valuable intervals in themselves, but merely as passing tones involved in the necessity of getting from one consonance to another. The modern musician wonders why the value of such intervals was not immediately perceived and embraced by the makers of this type of organum. The explanation lies in two conceptions that persisted in the medieval musical mind. The first was in regard to smoothness of horizontal movement. Odo expresses this when he says in Chapter XIII of the *Musica enchiriadis*: "Sing you, two or more together with careful [measured] gravity, as is required in this kind of singing, so will you see a pleasant concord of sound arising out of the blending of the voices."⁸ The seconds and thirds had the effect of enhancing by contrast the smoothness of the perfect consonances. Actually they had no conception of the modern harmonic richness which is often substituted for smooth melodic flow. The second conception was inherent in the medieval tuning of the thirds. Medieval theory went back to the Pythagorean

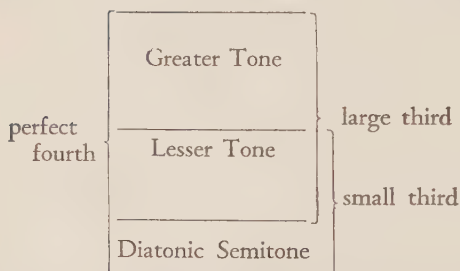
⁸ "Sic enim duobus aut pluribus in unum canendo modesta duntaxat et concordī morasitate, quod suum est hujus meli, vedebis nasci suavem ex hac sonorum commixtione concentum." Quoted from Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 139; Forkel, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 306.

Section of the Canon for its tuning. According to the ancient rule, the perfect fourth was made up of two of the greater tones of the natural scale plus a very small second called the *limma*. Not until much later than the period now under discussion was the more-natural division⁹ made of the fourth into a greater tone, a lesser tone and a diatonic semitone. According to the old tuning, both the large and small third were really so "out of tune" that their consonant quality could not be perceived.

PYTHAGOREAN TUNING



PTOLEMAIC TUNING



NOTE: Even this second tuning had faults which have had to be corrected. The whole matter of tuning the scale will be discussed later.

Had free organum brought about the immediate acceptance of the third as a desirable vertical interval, the course of musical development might have been speeded up immeasurably. But the absolute dependence of musicians upon the concepts of the past

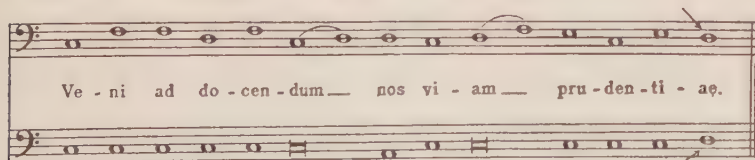
⁹ The tuning advanced by Ptolemy.

because of the lack of any sort of natural model to which they can refer is here again (and by no means for the last time) apparent.

Theoretical Works as Sources

The writings of the men of the tenth century like Odo and Hucbald not only give us our first authentic information about early organum, but they indicate that "organizing" was a practice of quite long standing. We can be fairly safe in dating its beginning at about the middle of the ninth century, 850 A.D. The discovery of new manuscripts and the result of more profound research may, at some time in the future, make that date too late. From the middle of the tenth century a hiatus exists which leaves a hundred years blank. The next important theoretical mention of organum is made in the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, a monastic musician who died about the middle of the eleventh century (1050 A.D.). With his death ends the period which is characterized by the two early types of organum.

Guido's contributions will be discussed at length in the succeeding chapter. What interests us at this point is his description of organum. He considered the strict organum as being an old and rather undesirable form. His illustrations are chiefly concerned with the free organum, and some of them show at least one distinct improvement over Hucbald, namely, in the *occursus* or close, in which Guido approaches a cadential effect.



Here the use of intervals appears to be quite similar to that of Odo. But the ending from a third to a unison by contrary motion is new, and of great importance for the future. Guido's rules indicate, too, that musicians are beginning to find pleasure in the

use of the third, and he even goes so far as to include an illustration of organum in which the third is the important interval.



New Organum

The new organum which spread with mushroomlike rapidity all over Europe almost immediately after the death of Guido was based upon the possibilities of contrary motion. It is going much too far to credit Guido with having been the inventor of the new type of motion; he merely recorded in his textbook what is for us the first sign of the new development.

The two hundred years during which musicians were gradually becoming aware of the possibilities of part song were centuries of very slow growth. It took two hundred years to develop the slight independence of voice structure exhibited by Guido's examples, an independence made possible only by the break away from the mechanical parallel motion. Odo describes free organum as a necessary means of getting around some of the difficulties involved in making strict organum. Guido gives rules for making free organum because he enjoys the sound of it better than that of strict organum. Although the music of the two men may show only infinitesimal differences, there is a great deal of history involved in the difference between their attitudes.

Readings

Hugo Riemann

*Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-
XIX. Jahrhundert*

C. E. H. de Coussemaker

Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge

Gustave Reese

Music in the Middle Ages

Harold Gleason

Examples of Music Before 1400

6

GUIDO OF AREZZO

The Guidonian Myth

FORMERLY the whole period surrounding the life of Guido was called by some historians the Epoch of Guido, with a good deal of justice. A mythology had grown up around this monastic music teacher of the eleventh century even greater than the Gregorian tradition. A picture¹ of Guido shown in Arezzo calls Guido the inventor of music, and until the nineteenth century it was common to attribute to him the advancements made throughout a thousand years of medieval darkness. Historical research has succeeded in illuminating a good deal of that darkness, but in spite of the fact that many of the discoveries which formerly had been credited to Guido have been found to belong either before or after his time, his writings concerning medieval music still give us the best view of the state of the art at the beginning of the second millennium.

Guido's relation to the development of notation has been discussed in its proper place. We also have seen the importance of his writings concerning the organum of the eleventh century. Here we are interested in the changes which he recorded, and probably himself made, in the medieval tone system. Not only did he introduce a terminology which, in slightly altered form, is still in use throughout the Western world, but he also began a movement which eventually reconstructed the theoretical basis of the tone system.

¹ "*Beatus Guido inventor musicae*" is the title of the picture. See Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. II, p. 146.

Guido's Work as a Teacher

Guido should be viewed by the modern student neither as a great musical inventor nor as a composer, but as a great teacher whose desire to simplify the process of learning music led him to make some changes, of whose importance he himself probably had no inkling. He wrote of the music in the Church that, "When the service is celebrated it often sounds, not as if we are praising God, but as if we were having a quarrel."² That condition he blamed chiefly on the lack of any authentic teaching method. He said further: "When the little boys have once learned to read the Psalter, then they can also read all other books; and farmers learn their work once and for all: who only once has cut a vine, planted a tree or loaded a donkey can do it again as well or even better. But these marvelous singing masters and their pupils might sing day after day for a hundred years and not be able to perform the smallest Antiphone without more instruction; through which they waste time enough to have completely learned all the sacred and secular writings."³ With this in mind, let us turn to the methods through which Guido attempted to improve music teaching.

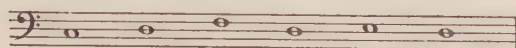
Solmization

Guido's dependence upon the monochord for the pitch of a given tone was as great as that of any medieval musician. But to make it easier for his singers to remember relative pitches he hit upon the idea of having them attach to the sounds of a six-tone diatonic scale the syllables *ut re me fa sol la*. He had at hand a song which every singer knew, the phrases of which began on the succeeding scale steps and with the syllables given above.

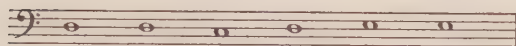
² Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 148.

³ Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 147.

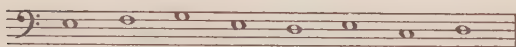
HYMN TO ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST



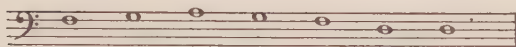
Ut que - ant la - - - xis.



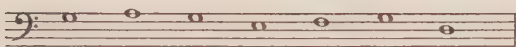
re - so - cia - re fi - bris



mi - - - ra ge - - sto - rum



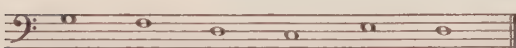
fa - mu - li - tu - - o - rum



sol - - - ve pol - lu - ti



la - bi - i re - a - - tum



sanc - - te Jo - han - nes.

Guido's pupils learned, just as many school children in the English-speaking world learn today, to connect syllables with sounds to the end of remembering intervals. It is the basis of the Guidonian Solmization.

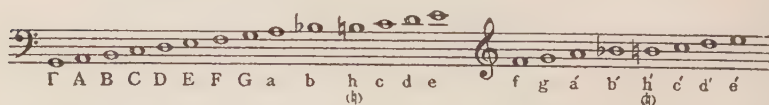
*The Hexachord System*

The steps by which this fundamental six-tone group was developed into the hexachord system, and who was responsible for

that development, cannot be settled to the permanent satisfaction of musical scholars. It is perhaps sufficient to note two facts. Almost immediately after Guido's death musical writers from all over Europe began to make references to him, to interpret and clarify his writings. Not, however, until almost the beginning of the thirteenth century, one hundred and fifty years after the death of Guido, does the system appear clearly written down.⁴ In the second place, Guido himself makes no mention of the system in his writings except to explain how he used the Hymn to St. John the Baptist in his teachings. If Guido were the inventor of such an important phase of medieval music, he confined himself, with more than usual modesty, to transmitting it orally.

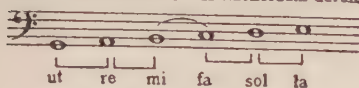
With that much reservation as to the authorship of the system we shall proceed to a description of it. We have already seen that medieval musicians before the time of Guido had added the Gamma, or low G, to the total range of their system. The Guidonian system adds, above the top sound of the Greek system, the five tones $b\flat$, $b\sharp$, c , d , and e , and includes the $b\flat$ of the Greek synemmenon tetrachord. As will be seen later, the $b\flat$ and $b\sharp$ were not used in conjunction.

TONES OF THE GUIDONIAN SYSTEM



With this range was combined the structural pattern of the hexachord deduced from the Hymn to St. John, in which whole steps occur between all the syllables except *mi-fa*, which is a half step. Out of that combination developed a most difficult system. Seven hexachords of the proper pattern were found to be included in the tonal structure. They can be studied to the best advantage in notation.

⁴ Engelbert von Admont (1280). Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 172.

HARD HEXACHORD (*Hexachordum durum*)NATURAL HEXACHORD (*Hexachordum naturale*)SOFT HEXACHORD (*Hexachordum molle*)

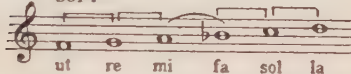
HARD



NATURAL



SOFT



HARD



The hard hexachord (*Hexachordum durum*)⁵ was so called because it contained the natural or hard *b* (*b quadratum*). The natural hexachord (*Hexachordum naturale*) received its name from the fact that it fell in the part of the system where no alterations were possible. The soft hexachord (*Hexachordum molle*)⁶ con-

⁵ This word is used by the Germans to denote major, as *G dur* = *G major*.

⁶ In like manner *moll* means minor in German terminology, as *D moll* = *d minor*. Interesting, too, to the student, is the fact that French *bemoll* and Italian *bemolle*, names for the flat, come from the fact that the flatted *b* occurred normally in the "molle" hexachord. There are several other interesting vestiges of the Guidonian system in our modern musical terminology. *B* (*b*) in German still means *B \flat* , and *B \sharp* is denoted

tained the soft or flatted b. Because there was no low F to serve as the *ut* for a low soft hexachord, the lowest B in the system was never flatted.

The Function of the Hexachord System

Because the hexachord system was conceived primarily as an aid in teaching it did not replace any of the older musical conceptions, but was simply added to them. The medieval musician who lived near the beginning of the second millennium was faced with an imposing array of "systems." With natural scholastic regard for the ancients, he had to master as much as was known of the Greek tone system, the Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems based upon tetrachords. He had thus to understand the seven-tone modal scales of the Church, the so-called ecclesiastical modes. Added to all of that, came the Guidonian system with its new conceptions and almost insurmountable difficulties. It is small wonder that monastery libraries were filled, in the two hundred years following the death of Guido, with involved musical treatises.

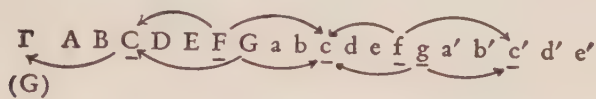
The Implications of the Hexachord System

As absurd as the whole complex medieval structure may now appear, it contained the germs of our own music, and it was just this Guidonian system which in time greatly clarified the situation. Let us examine it as an instrumentality of musical development.

The most important aspect of the hexachord system was the manner in which it pointed to the major scale. Complete realization of major had to wait for harmonic developments which came much later; but here are to be found two new concepts without which that realization could hardly have come. First, and perhaps the most important, was the concept of the major scale. Thus, *Symphonie in B dur* translates *Symphony in B_h major*, and *Symphonie in H moll*, *Symphony in B minor*.

The French and Italians have substituted the Guidonian syllables (slightly altered) for letter names for tones altogether. The c major scale in French is: *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, ut*. Thus in French B_h would be *Si bemoll*, etc.

haps most important, was the emphasis placed upon the internal interval structure of the hexachord. The half-step in the scale always fell between *mi* and *fa*, the third and fourth steps. This habituated the medieval ear to the scale structure which is characteristic of the major scale. In the second place, the placing of the hexachords in the complete system, together with the possibility of moving from one hexachord to another by mutation, brought into high relief the relationship which existed between the low finals of the hexachords, a relationship which is substantially that of tonic, dominant and subdominant in our C major scale. This can best be shown by a diagram.



Finals are underlined; subdominant relationships are shown by curved arrows above, and dominant by curved arrows below.

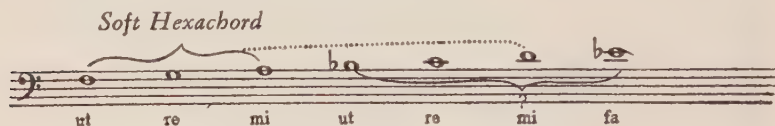
The second important aspect of the Guidonian system, in relation to the ever-growing movement toward modern tonal organization, involved the prohibitions surrounding the modulation from one hexachord to another. In sight reading a melody which extended past the range of one hexachord the practice called *mutation* allowed for a change from one hexachord to another. For instance, in reading our C major scale, one would sing the syllables of the natural hexachord as far as *fa*. Then, instead of *sol* would be substituted the *ut* of the hard hexachord; upon the *fa* of which the scale would end.



In like manner an actual modulation could be made. If the melody began with C but contained an upper B \flat , the mutation would occur at the *fa* of the natural hexachord, for which would be substituted the *ut* of the soft tetrachord.



The possibilities of this process would have been very interesting. A mutation upon *b \flat* would have necessitated the inclusion of an *eb*; one upon *d* would have forced an *f \sharp* .



Had not such foreign mutations been prohibited, or when they did occur condemned by the term "faked music" (*musica ficta*), the road to a more modern concept of musical materials might have been shortened. The fact, however, that medieval musicians saw that *musica ficta* was inherent in their system, and were only held back by their conservatism and lack of ability to control the possibilities of such a new situation, indicates the direction which musical expansion would take when forces beyond the control of the scholastics should compel musicians to greater courage and ability.

1000 A.D.: *The Beginning of a New Era*

Nowadays when a paragraph in the newspaper announces that a group of people somewhere are preparing for the "end of the world" which is to come at midnight on October twenty-fifth 19—most of us grin and pass on to more interesting reading. But in December 999 A.D. only a very few hardy spirits held out against the popular belief that by the morning of New Year's

Day 1000 A.D. the sheep would have been separated from the goats and this world would be no more. Only when the first millennium had ended without the prophesied cataclysm did civilization really begin to enjoy beautiful things because they were beautiful. Manuscripts began to carry lovely miniatures; all over Europe an intense architectural activity began, as though people were getting ready to keep and enjoy their world for yet another thousand years. Literary activity, still in Latin, began again; centers of learning gradually developed into universities.

Before we turn away from the musical activity of the Church to examine the popular folk music which this new spirit created, we must discuss one other element in medieval musical tradition which appears in striking contrast both to our own regard for music as an art and to the music which at the very time was laying part of the foundations for a great secular movement.

Curious Medieval Methods of Composition

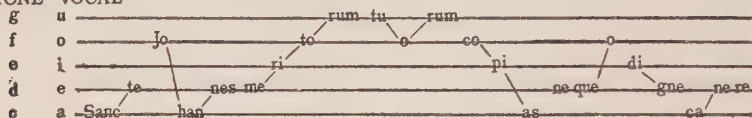
To the medieval church musician music was several things: it was an important part of the liturgy; it was a great body of theory to be learned as one learns mathematics—a series of formulas with which one could propound and solve interesting and difficult problems; it was a science of sound—one aspect of the world of physical phenomena—in which discoveries could be made which would shock the conservatism of his elders; it was an interesting problem in teaching, worthy of a man's whole life work, as witness Guido's efforts with notation and solmization. In short, it was all of the things, except one, which we now take for granted. It did not need to furnish the one thing we demand above all others, beauty. That concept, music for the sake of its own beauty, was something which men hesitated to apply. Traces of its application can be found, such as Odo's regard for organum and Guido's reason for preferring organum at the fourth to that at the fifth. But, by and large, beauty was of far less importance than it would be when men really began to compose. Two things will illustrate this better than anything else. The first is Guido's method of composing a melody, and the second is the standing of music in the medieval university.

Guido's curious method of "discovering" a new melody was as follows: ⁷ The vocal sounds which are present in every syllable serve to carry the melody. There are five of them, a e i o u. Under the scale of the monochord, place these letters:

Γ A B C D E F G a bb b c d e f g a' b' b' c' d
 a e i o u a e i o u a e i o u a e i o u

Guido then goes on to give an illustration. He selected the group of tones enclosed in brackets, and set the sentence *Sancte Johannes meritorum tuorum copias nequeo digne canere*.

TONE VOCAL



This is the way the melody looks in modern notation:



Nothing more arbitrary than this can be imagined, unless it be the making of strict organum!

Music in the Medieval University

The medieval universities present vividly the regard in which music was held by the clerics. One needs only to outline the curriculum. The seven arts furnished the subject matter. They were divided into two divisions, the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium*. The *Trivium* consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic. The *Quadrivium* compassed Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. The mathematical company in which music found itself

⁷ Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 159.

in the *Quadrivium* is sufficient indication of the manner in which it was taught.

In taking leave of Guido and his commentators we go from the monastery cell to the banquet hall. Each represents a separate stream of musical development which eventually will join to form the broad current leading to modern times. Progress from the time of Boethius to the time of Guido seems very slow. The growth of the liturgy, the ecclesiastical tone system, the beginnings of a notation, the discovery that tones can be related sounding simultaneously, the development of the hexachord system, and the very faint determination to make music sound well, counteracted by the stodgy mathematical approach of the scholastic, tells the story. If we remember, however, that had the Church found no use for music there would have been no story to tell, the real importance of the church musician will emerge. And although we turn now to the brighter territory of secular music, it must not be forgotten that the activity of the church musician for a long time will continue to constitute the main line of musical development.

Readings

R. R. Terry	<i>Medieval Music</i>
Charles Robert Hope	<i>Medieval Music</i>
Edward Dickinson	<i>Music in the History of the Western Church</i>
Raphael Georg Kiesewetter	<i>Guido von Arezzo</i>
Gustave Reese <i>ML 172 R4m8</i>	<i>Music in the Middle Ages</i>
Harold Gleason <i>M 2</i>	<i>Examples of Music Before 1400</i>

7

THE BEGINNINGS OF SECULAR MUSIC

Difficulties Involved in Lack of Sources

ACTUALLY, it is impossible to write of the very beginnings of secular music. It began as a popular growth, and for a long period its traces are submerged in the darkness which covers all of the activities of the lowly. Undoubtedly people have always sung as they worked in the fields and gathered in the taverns, and mothers have always crooned their little ones to sleep with a home-made lullaby. Rough people have fashioned crude instruments and used them to accompany their wanderings with flocks and their gay dancings on the village green. It is in such homely activities as these that the roots of secular music should be sought. But because our only sources of information are the chronicles of writers who tell us nothing about such music, our story must start with what appears to have been at its inception a well-developed tradition.

External Stimuli

Several factors may be pointed out, however, which gave impetus to the development of the forms which popular secular music took in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The first of these was the stimulation to the culture of western Europe through the contacts with the Near East made by the Crusades.¹

¹ An inkling of the development of Moorish civilization may be gathered from the traces it left in Spain; the architectural monuments and the great universities are cases in point. Moors remained in Spain as teachers of their Spanish conquerors.

The impetus thus given to the free flow of ideas can hardly be overestimated. Musically there can be no doubt of the Eastern influence, although the evidence which exists is chiefly with regard to the introduction of instruments.² The second factor was the growth of chivalry, a movement which profoundly affected the manners of the Western world, particularly in their relation to women. The sentiments of the knight who was committed to an adventurous life to bring honor to the lady of his choice were peculiarly fitted to a musical setting. The third factor, and in conjunction with the other two the most important, was the fact that the period under discussion saw the development of the vernacular languages, and the beginnings of their literatures. Those early literary beginnings took form in the songs of the Troubadour, the Trouvère, the Minstrel, the Minnesinger, and the Meistersinger. Differences caused by varying racial, social, and geographical character make a short discussion of each group imperative.

The Troubadours and Jongleurs

In southern France, in the courts of Provence, Toulouse, and Barcelona, the poets and singers of high rank came to be known as Troubadours.³ The earliest Troubadour who had widespread renown was Count William of Poitiers (1087-1127). However, by his time the movement had become a tradition. The Troubadour was chiefly a poet who often left the singing of his songs to paid servants. Could we learn more about them, it is probable that we would discover that these paid singers and players, the Jongleurs, who wandered from court to court, and who were welcome wherever they went, made a larger contribution to strictly musical development than did their well-born masters. At any rate, Troubadour and Jongleur worked together, and because the Troubadour was the more glamorous of the two, he has given his name to the whole development.

² It is not beyond possibility that the history of the development of harmony may sometime need to be rewritten, giving much more weight to Eastern influence.

³ From *trovare*, *trouver*, *trobar*, meaning to invent or discover.

Qualities of Troubadour Music and Verse

Troubadour and Jongleur sang of love and adventure, making poems and songs that were light-hearted and gay. The vernacular tongue long since had lost the quantity value, and poetry was written according to the modern principle of accent, not quantity, at fixed intervals—a practice which we saw beginning in the hymns of Ambrose. This rhythmic character imparted to the musical setting a freshness which was in decided contrast to the music of the Church. The melodies strongly forecast the modern major and minor modes, and consequently appeal to us as being among the first musical landmarks which make “sense” to the modern musical ear. To the modal and rhythmic freedom was added the most important contribution of the Troubadour to the developing art of music: imaginative spontaneity. The melodies of the songs which have remained to us are far removed from the “carpentered” melodic line of Guido’s workmanship cited in the preceding chapter.

Whether or not the early Troubadours and Jongleurs made use of harmony is a question upon which further research must be depended for a positive answer. The fresh melodies, some of which readily admit of modern harmonic accompaniment, together with the fact that instruments were used by the Jongleur,⁴ lend plausibility to the argument that the Troubadours used a kind of harmony. On the other hand, it is difficult to reconcile that supposition with the actual examples of harmonized songs which we have from the pens of some of the later Troubadours. Here, after the Troubadours had mastered some of the intricacies of the science of the church musicians, their contrapuntal har-

⁴ Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. II, p. 237.

Each Jongleur had to be able to play at least nine instruments:

Ge sai juglere de *viele*,
Si sai de *muse* at de *freste*
Et de *harpe* et de *chiphonie*
De la *gigue*, de l'*armonie*
Et el *salteire* et en la *rote*.

GIRANT OF CALANSON

monies exhibit the same characteristics as the music of their teachers.

Trouvères and Minstrels

The Troubadour movement spread from southern France to Spain, Portugal, Italy, northern France, England, and Germany. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy its character was virtually unchanged. But transplanted to northern France and England, where its representatives were known as Trouvères and Minstrels, it underwent some change. Poets still sang of love, but in a more somber vein and in a less musical language. Here, too, developed many of the epic lays which were musical recitations based upon the adventures of such heroes as Roland and King Arthur.⁵

The courts of the Kings of England and France and of the Counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Brabant became centers for the Trouvère, and among their members were numbered such men as Richard the Lion-hearted and Thibault, King of Navarre. One of the most famous of the Trouvères, the Chatelaine de Coucy, accompanied King Richard to Palestine.

Guild Musicians

As time went on talented poets and musicians from the lower classes were taken into the service of the courts and there given a recognition not given to the Jongleur in the south. From this practice developed a profession of secular musicians, who began to master the churchmen's musical science for the purpose of turning it to secular purposes. The importance of this early musical guild made up of singers, instrumentalists, and composers, an organization which actually existed in France without a break until the eighteenth century, cannot be overemphasized.

The secular musicians not only served as entertainers at the courts, but they also composed and performed dance songs, musical plays, and religious masques. During this phase in the history of music two men stand out as being men not only of great genius

⁵ Ferdinand Wolf, *Ueber die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, p. 59.

but also of great historical importance. They are the Troubadour Adam de la Hale and the Trouvère Guillaume de Machaut.

Adam de la Hale and Guillaume de Machaut

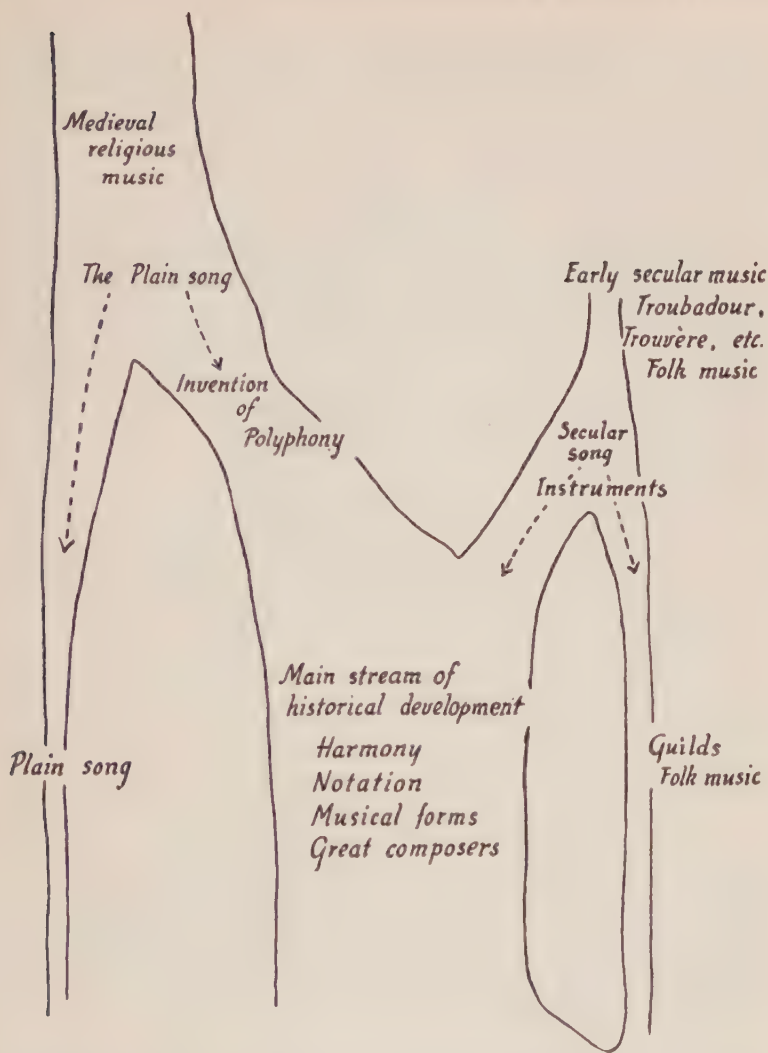
Adam de la Hale was born at Arras in the year 1240 A.D., and after a varied and adventurous life in which he was both a cleric and an itinerant player and singer, died about 1285 in Naples where he had gone as musician in the service of Robert II of Artois. He is important in the history of French literature as the founder of French drama. His *Jeu de la feuillée* is called the first French comedy, and his *Jeu de Robin et Marion*, a pastoral of which he composed both the poetry and the musical setting, is the great landmark from which the French date the beginning of the *opéra comique française*.

Guillaume de Machaut was born in Champagne about 1295, and died about 1377. He spent most of his life in the service of John of Luxembourg, later King of Bohemia.

Sacred and Secular Music

It is valuable for the student to think of historical developments as streams which run parallel for a time and finally meet, sometimes joining completely and sometimes both contributing to a new stream and at the same time maintaining a less vigorous course of their own. The latter is the case with medieval sacred and secular music at the time of Adam de la Hale and Guillaume de Machaut.

A few of the remaining songs of these two men are characteristic of the secular movements of which they are representatives. But their experiments with notation and polyphony connect them with the main stream of development, the story of which has been held in abeyance during this chapter, and in that connection they will be discussed in another place. In their own times, however, they were regarded as great poets and singers.



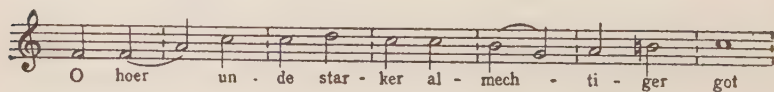
The Minnesingers

The same spirit which called into being the Troubadour and Trouvère of France found its expression in Germany in the Minnesinger.⁶ Here, however, the movement was slightly different. Even

⁶ Minne = love.

though the courts were the centers of the movement, there seems to have been no time when the singers were dependent musically upon such a class as the Jongleurs, and no time when musicians and poets were not a product of all social classes, although in the beginning the overwhelming majority of the Minnesingers were from the nobility. The Minnesinger was more popular and consequently more closely bound to folk idiom. Other differences arose out of the character of the German language. Medieval German retained enough of the quantitative syllable quality along with the new rhythm to affect noticeably the music of the Minnesinger. Here, too, the influence of both the ideas and music of the Church was stronger than in France.⁷ All of these causes made the music of the Minnesingers quite different from that of their French contemporaries.

It is true that the Minnesingers were inspired by love and by the beauties of nature; but to a greater degree than was the case in France their love poetry was colored by the old religious worship of the Virgin Mary, and the songs are closely enough related to parts of the plain song in rhythmic and melodic character for a differentiation to be possible on that basis alone. The melody was of so much greater independence in the French music that they may be said to have been true songs. On the other hand, in the productions of the Germans the music was so dependent on the often rather unrhythmic word structure and the melody was so closely allied to the recitation value of the words that they were not true songs but rather rhapsodies. In many of their productions, however, the rather stolid straightforward rhythm and melody with its folk character and naïve but sincere religious flavor give us an illuminating foretaste of future German greatness. The roots of the later Lutheran choral are to be plainly found in such phrases⁸ as the following:



⁷ Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 116-118, cites an instance of monastic musicians attempting to substitute religious for profane melodies in folk song.

⁸ Ambros, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 252.

The Meistersingers

The Minnesinger movement soon reached its high point, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century had disintegrated into the more popular but less vital tradition characterized by the Meistersinger guilds. The Meistersingers traced their musical ancestry back to the great and almost mythical Minnesingers such as Wolfram von Eschenbach and Walther von der Vogelweide and others who had taken part in the famous tournament (Sängerkrieg) on the Wartburg in 1207 A.D. But their very name, Meistersinger, differentiated them from the free and adventurous Minnesingers. They were really small-town tradesmen and artisans who eventually substituted rule of thumb for inspiration in the making of music and poetry. In Wagner's great comedy, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, Beckmesser is probably a more typical Meistersinger than Walther.

The Meistersingers organized themselves into guilds which spread all over Germany and which only in the nineteenth century finally succumbed to the more popular and vital "Liederkrantz" organizations.⁹ But with this organization and the pedantry which was its inevitable accompaniment, the movement ceases to be of any important interest to the music historian.

The Artistic Importance of Medieval Popular Music

The twentieth-century musician knows that music is an independent art, capable of generating its own principles. He knows that it is dependent on no other art either for its technic or for a definition of its ultimate ends. Having come thus far into the study of music history, the musician should be aware of the fact that the modern artistic independence of music did not always exist. Consequently one of the most interesting parts of the whole study is to trace, in movements like that under discussion in this chapter, the appearance and development of factors which are

⁹ The last four members of the Meistersingers formally dissolved their guild at Ulm in 1839.

destined to be the foundations of that artistic freedom which is ours.

One other consideration will add interest to our summary. On the first page of Chapter 3, the following statement was italicized: *When the social function of music changes, a change may also be expected in the music.* Social function is something quite different from the objective independence which music has attained as an art, but it has nevertheless played an important part in the development of that independence. The title of this chapter defines a social function for music which was not by any means new, but which at this point is virtually new in its influence on the course of Western music; and our music might now be almost anything imaginable but for the impact of such influences.

The progress toward artistic independence achieved by the Troubadours and Trouvères, Minnesingers and Meistersingers was, then, but the translation into artistic terms of the results of a new and broader *usefulness* which music was acquiring.

Musical Forms

Aside from inventing a large proportion of the modern poetic forms, a contribution of more importance to literary than to musical art, these early singers made the first distinct beginnings of purely musical form. These forms were then, as they continued to be for several centuries, still dependent upon poetry, but they were none the less important signposts. From the time of the Troubadours until the present, the words aubade (*alba*), serenade (*serena*), pastorale, canzone (*canzonetta*), carol, rondo, and ballad (*ballata*) are constantly to be met as titles of short compositions. Most of them have never been the names of definite musical forms, but in at least one case, that of the rondo, the basic idea of an important musical form was present.

The rondo as we now know it depends for its structure upon the reiteration, after digressions, of the beginning subject matter. Its ancestor is the Troubadour *rondet de carol*, a dance song in which, as its name implies, the dancing chorus sang a refrainlike strophic song between the repetitions of which solo verses were

sung and danced. The formal principle of *repetition after contrast*, which here becomes evident for the first time, was destined, after later tonal discoveries had enlarged and better defined musical resources, to become all-important in musical structure.

Musical Instruments

The most far-reaching contribution of the music of chivalry was made in connection with musical instruments. We have seen that at the very beginning of the Christian period the Church eschewed all use of instruments in its service. It is true that by the twelfth century churches here and there were beginning to experiment with the Byzantine organ, and that church musicians had always used the monochord, but musical performance upon instruments in Western musical history is virtually nonexistent until the time of the Troubadours. Then evidences of the widespread appearance and use of a large variety of instruments appear as if by magic. The supposition is that the instruments came from two places: many of them were imported by the Crusaders, and others had long existed in Europe, only now to make their entrance upon the stage of written history.

In later chapters we shall have occasion to notice the important part that instruments have taken in musical development. Their place in Western music eventually becomes so large that some of our greatest composers have written almost nothing but instrumental music. The mere fact, then, that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw their introduction makes that period, in one sense, the beginning of our characteristic Western music.

Western music depends for much of its artistic merit on what we might call the peculiar genius of each of our instruments. Without performers who were continually discovering and extending that peculiar genius—without, in other words, the growth of performing ability—much that is important in our music would be absent. For the beginnings of this we have to thank Jongleur, Minstrel, and Minnesinger, and, to a less degree, Troubadour, Trouvère, and Meistersinger.

Pure musical form, the basis of the art, became an established

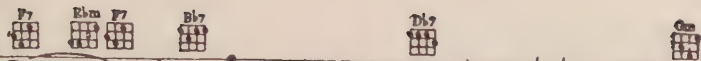
fact only when the voices could stop and the instruments could go on by themselves and still make "sense." That simple phenomenon was what eventually made musicians aware of form as a foundation stone to the structure of a free musical art. Without this early instrumental development that discovery would have been postponed.

Perhaps one of the most striking differences between our own music and that of Guido could be illustrated by comparing the range of the modern pianoforte with the monochord whose range was limited to the tones of the hexachord system. The freedom which first destroyed the bugbear of *musica ficta* and gradually opened the way to the chromatic scale and the wide range of our modern music was attained largely through the use of instruments. They imply a continually developing tonal freedom.

Instrumental Notation

The student must constantly bear in mind that during the whole period of the Troubadours the church musicians were busy learning the things about music which will be discussed in succeeding chapters. One of their important problems was in expanding their notation to meet new demands. But the problem of notation for instruments was left almost wholly to the secular musicians. Its development constitutes an important, interesting, and difficult chapter of music history which need be only mentioned here. The solution to the problem was a notation called tablatures. Tablature differed in type for every instrument, but fundamentally was a picture showing tones with reference to where they could be found, or how they could be produced, on the instrument. Tablatures served the purpose for which they were intended for centuries, until the staff notation was substituted for them. It is interesting to notice that they have been revived in the twentieth century as an aid to those Americans who wish to play fretted instruments.

The claim of the early secular singer to a place in the history of music appears to be based upon real contributions. In spite of the fact that much of his work still remains in shadow, and comparatively few of his songs have withstood the ravages of



Now that you're gone, How can I live with-out you?
Now that you're gone, How can he live with-out you?



Lou - is - ville La - dy, Won't you lis - ten to my plea,
Lou - is - ville La - dy, Can't you hear his mourn - ful cry



(Ooo - ooh!)

Come out of the Ri - ver, Don't say 'good-bye' to
Come out of the Ri - ver, Don't bid your man 'good-



me.
bye.'

me.
bye.'

TABLATURE NOTATION AS USED FOR THE MODERN UKULELE

time, we know enough about him to know that his presence made itself felt for almost three hundred years in the same environment with the music of the Church.

This chapter has been a necessary digression from the story of the growth of polyphony. The continuation of that development, in which we shall see that both sacred and secular musician played a part, will next claim our attention.

Readings

Edmondstoune Duncan

John Rutherford

Pierre Aubry

W. J. Henderson

Ferdinand Wolf

J. B. Beck

Gustave Reese

Harold Gleason

J. B. Wekerlin

The Story of Minstrelsy

The Story of the Carol

The Troubadours

Trouvères and Troubadours

Early History of Singing

Ueber die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche

La musique des troubadours

Music in the Middle Ages

Examples of Music Before 1400

Echos du Temps Passé (Durand)

8

NEW ORGANUM AND THE FRANCONIAN PERIOD OF DISCANT

The Period 1050-1150

THE PERIOD of about a hundred years immediately following the death of Guido, for which the dates 1050-1150 may be accepted, is one of the darkest and most difficult short periods in music history. Contrary to what might have been expected, there was no immediate widespread echo to the enthusi-

asm of men like Guido for organum. The theorists of the period were few, and most of them were too actively engaged with other aspects of music, such as the development of notation and the deterioration of the plain song, to devote much energy to the radical front boundary of music. But the records that we do possess indicate that a development had been taking place, a development which was really revolutionary, and which produced a type of music to which English writers have given the name New Organum.

Sources

The important examples or descriptions to which we are indebted for our information concerning this transitional period are limited to three: a manuscript dating from about 1080 in the Corpus Christi College Library at Cambridge, England, known as the Winchester Troper; a short chapter in the *Musica* of John Cotton, written about 1100; and an anonymous treatise of about the same date in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, entitled *Ad organum faciendum*.

The Transition to New Organum

The examples in the Winchester Troper, although they are noted only with neumes, and consequently cannot be accurately transcribed, give us a clear picture of at least one stage in the transition from the old free organum to the new organum. The fundamental distinction between the two is in the matter of motion, and while in the free organum of Guido contrary motion did appear tentatively in the *occursus*, the examples under discussion clearly show passages in contrary motion within the musical sentence. Contrary motion as a desirable progression is revolutionary at this stage of musical development because it implies a change in the ideas regarding concord and discord, a change which, although not entirely realized in this short transitional period, will eventually habilitate the intervals of the third and sixth.

Cotton, who makes the next mention of what we call new organum, includes no illustrations in his text, and by his remarks indicates that he has no great enthusiasm for it. But he does tell us two important things. First, he states that although similar motion is still allowable and even at times necessary, contrary motion is to be preferred. Second, that crossing of the parts is obligatory under certain conditions. This process places the principal voice *below* the organal voice and establishes the possibility of a relation which is an inversion of the original position of the voices as found in the earlier strict and free organum.

The anonymous tract, *Ad organum faciendum*, is a work which, in contrast to Cotton's *Musica*, shows the author to have been enthusiastic in his devotion to new organum. His examples place the principal voice consistently below the organal voice, establishing the method which later became universal. They also illustrate a new musical ideal, the production of *change and variety* in the intervals by means of the movement of the voices. When this ideal is compared with the monotony of parallel fourths and fifths of the old organum, it will indicate an appreciable advance toward later practice. Musicians were, with slow but inexorable certainty, training themselves to listen to music vertically.

The transition from the old to the new organum was completed some time during the first half of the twelfth century. The perfected new organum is represented by the twenty-one rules covering its construction given in a treatise of Guy de Chalis¹ at about the middle of the twelfth century, and by a few examples of composition. The example which is included here as an illustration will reward close scrutiny, particularly with regard to the intervals. Although the consonant intervals are still predominantly the octave, the fifth, the unison, and the fourth, dissonances in the shape of thirds, sixths, and even seconds, now have their place in the fabric. The principal voice of the illustration is not, like most of the subjects treated organically, a passage of plain song arranged in notes of equal length, but a metrical song of quite pleasing character. This fact indicates that even at this early period

¹ Also known as Guido, and sometimes mistaken by the early historians for Guido of Arezzo.

the impact of secular music was making itself felt among learned church musicians.

MIRA LEGE, MIRO MODO²

Mi ra le ge, mi ro mo do, De us for mat ho mi nem

Mi ra ma gis hunc re for mat vi de mi rum or di nem.

Re for man di mi rus or do in hoc

son at de ca cor do

Organum, as a method of improvising a second independent part upon a given plain-song melody, had, by about the year 1150, reached the point beyond which it could not go without a change so completely revolutionary as to produce a new type of music. The freedom which had been reached in relation to voice movement and variety of intervals had found no counterpart in a free rhythmic movement of the voices. The type of rhythm to be found in the last illustration was present, but it allowed for no independent rhythmic structure in the organal voice.

² Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge*, Pl. XXIII.

Rhythm: Franco of Cologne

The period after the perfecting of organum, from somewhere before 1150 until about 1300, more than a century and a half, was devoted by the learned musicians to the development of rhythmic musical measure. It has been given a variety of names, but because the characteristic name for the new type of music was *discant*,³ and because the author of the most important treatise of the period was Franco of Cologne, most historians agree on calling the era the Franconian Period of Discant, although Franco actually lived during the last half of the period.

The Rhythmic Modes

The development of rhythmic measure took the form of the invention of a system of rhythmic modes; and although these are by no means the only changes of the period, they are its most important change. Consequently it is to them that we will give our first attention.

It is obvious that any rhythmic structure which could satisfy the increasing demands of part singing would have to have at its basis an exact relationship of time values. The determination of this exact relationship is so bound up with the story of notation that it is impossible to separate them.

Whether or not any fundamental time relationship was recognized between the neume figures of the Roman Choral Notation is a question that is still open. But it is certain that the mensuralists selected two of the neumes for their needs: the punctum ■ became the brevis, or short, and the virga | became the longa, or long. The longa was equal to two breves. When the two were combined in a repeated figure | ■, | ■, the triple proportion was inevitable.⁴

³ *Discantus*—sometimes the term *cantus mensurabilis*, actually more descriptive of the period, was applied.

⁴ For some reason, probably as was indicated by Franco of Cologne, because the triple proportion was regarded as partaking of the perfection

The most evident codification of meters, and the one most naturally used as a model, was that to be found in poetry. Although the process by which the adaptation of the metrical measures to the purpose of the rhythmic modes with their fundamental triple proportion is by no means clear, the final result was a series of six simple modes which can be best shown by the following tabulation. The vertical lines do not represent bars, but show the length of the poetic foot, which is the basis for the mode.

The time unit, or *tempus*, was the duration of the brevis, which, in groups of three, made up the *perfectio*. The first note of each mode always fell upon the first, or strong beat of the *perfectio*. The commas in the illustrations of the third, fourth, and fifth modes indicate the beginning of a new *perfectio*.

FIRST (Trochee) ⁵	$\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ = o p o p o p
SECOND (Iambus)	$\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ = p o p o p o
THIRD (Dactyl) ⁵	$\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ = o, p o o, p o
FOURTH (Anapaest) ⁵	$\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ = p o, o, p o, o,
FIFTH (Molossus)	$\bar{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ $\bar{\square}$ = o, o, o, o, o, o,
SIXTH (Tribrach)	$\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ $\check{\square}$ = d d d d d d

inherent in the doctrine of the Trinity, no other rhythmic relation was deemed musically possible throughout the Franconian period. A glance at the table illustrating the material of the next paragraph will show that, had not this predilection in favor of the triple proportion existed, the translation of the dactyl and anapaest into musical rhythm could have been carried out more exactly.

Thus, instead of | o. p o | and | p o o. |
might have been | o p p | and | p p o |

⁵ It should be noted here, because it plays an important part in a later rhythmic system, that even in this early mensural notation the longs and the breves had both a triple and a duple value. The long in the first mode has the normal value of two breves, while in the third mode it has the value of three breves. In the third and fourth modes the breve has two values, depending upon its position in the *perfectio*. As the first one of

The Ordines

The fundamental use of the rhythmic modes was to furnish a pattern into which the melody, usually a fragment of plain song, could be arranged. But if these rhythmic figures were to be extended to any great length, their constant repetition would produce a monotony which could be broken in two ways. The first was to introduce pauses which broke the melody up into phrases. As measured compositions became more extended, both as to form and to length, this method of breaking up the mode structure was further complicated by the introduction of what came to be known as the system of *ordines*—a regular and arbitrary disposition between pauses and the rhythmic mode. The basic rhythmic figure, or *ordo*, of the mode was separated from its subsequent repetition by rests. This could be accomplished in two ways, each producing a different result. If the last note of the *ordo* came upon a strong beat, the construction resulted in *ordines* of the mode *perfect*:



If, on the other hand, the last note of the *ordo* fell upon a weak beat, the construction was known as *ordines* of the mode *imperfect*:



The second was to vary the modes by changing from one to another. With these two methods a fairly interesting principal voice, as a basis for polyphonic treatment, could be constructed. The process by which modes were varied could apply equally to the other voices, and the result often produced an interesting rhythmic fabric.

the two short notes it has its own normal value, but as the second of the two short notes it has the value of the duple long. This apparent inconsistency was made clear by referring to the mode. For a further discussion see Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period*, Part I, pp. 64-66 .

While the establishment of a certain amount of rhythmic freedom was the most important contribution of the Franconian period, other important developments were taking place. The whole question of consonance and dissonance was reopened, resulting in a remodeling of conceptions in that regard which demands some discussion.

Consonance and Dissonance

Franco of Cologne laid down the rule that the ear was the final judge as to consonance and dissonance.⁶ That is important; most writers before his time had supposed that no advance could be made over the canons of Pythagoras. Franco went on to explain that there were three kinds of consonances: perfect, imperfect, and intermediate. With due regard to the judgment of the ear, he defined them. Two tones sounding together and blending so well that the separate tones could hardly be distinguished, constituted a perfect consonance. Octaves and unisons fulfilled this requirement. Imperfect consonant intervals were those produced by the sounding together of two tones which, although not being judged dissonant, distinctly maintained their own individuality. Major and minor thirds met this distinction. Intermediate intervals were those halfway between the perfect and the imperfect, namely, the fourth and the fifth. Less distinction is made between various kinds of dissonant intervals, of which Franco forgets altogether to mention the major second. The minor second, augmented fourth and major and minor sevenths he calls perfect dissonances, which were intolerable; the major and minor sixths he calls imperfect, and consequently tolerable, dissonances.

Stages in Aural Development

The reason for giving in detail Franco's laws concerning intervals is because they were determined by his ear, and consequently represent to us in a clear and understandable manner what one might call a stage in the development of the musical ear. One

⁶ Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. II, pp. 311-312.

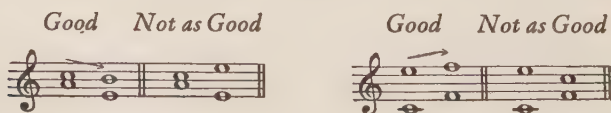
needs only to recall the baffled expressions on the faces of many concert-goers when they are first presented with such a work as Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps* to understand that there can be stages in aural development.

One of the most interesting, and at the same time most enlightening, phases of the Franconian period was the existence of exactly the same kind of disagreement with regard to what the ear found to be consonant and dissonant as is to be found at present. When the ear became the judge, every theorist had a right to his own opinion. This difference of opinion was chiefly in regard to the sixths, with the result that before the period was over the major and minor sixths had been included in the list of imperfect consonances.

New Rules of Voice Leading

New conceptions of musical materials crystallize almost immediately into new methods of treatment. Such is here the case, particularly with regard to the movement from one interval to another. Throughout the whole period when organum was developing to the point where measure became a necessity, no attention was given the horizontal relation of intervals as such. Rules for voice leading were sometimes given for the purpose of avoiding undesirable intervals, but not until the Franconian period do we find the concept that one interval may *progress* to, and consequently define, its successor. That concept came early in relation to the treatment of the newly legitimized thirds and sixths. It was the beginning of a harmonic, as opposed to a melodic, system.

A little anonymous manuscript of the Paris National Library gives the following preferences for harmonic progressions:



These examples indicate an elementary feeling for plagal and authentic cadences—a feeling which is the germ of later harmonic understanding.

Expanding Possibilities in Part Writing

The structure of the rhythmic modes and the new concepts with regard to intervals have been discussed at some length. The mere mention of one other advance made in the Franconian period will make its great importance obvious. It was now possible, because of the freedom resulting from the use of measured rhythm, to make music in *more than two independent parts*, and that fact immediately changed the texture of most of the music that was being made.

We have now examined the new musical concepts and materials which were developed by the musicians of the Franconian period. Let us now turn to a discussion of the methods of their application in the making of music.

Basically, the elements of early discant differed very little from those of its predecessor, organum. Above a given subject, now called the Tenor, another voice was constructed. The upper voice was now called the discant, and may be said to have discanted upon the tenor. Now, however, the subject was measured in accordance with the metrical modes in such a way that it had a strong rhythmic character. The discant was also carried out according to a metric mode, not necessarily that employed in the tenor. The relation of the discant voice to the tenor voice was governed by one rule: At the beginning, or strong beat of each *perfectio*, in all modes, the voices must meet on a consonance. This rule allowed some latitude for the inclusion of dissonances on the weak beats, but the compositions of the period indicate that the composers almost invariably chose consonances.

Musical Forms

The musical realization of the new materials and methods of the Franconian period made it necessary that the learned musicians develop still another concept. We have seen that the Troubadours started a process which resulted eventually in the transferring of some of the simpler poetic forms to musical structure. At exactly the same time, during the thirteenth century, the

musicians who were puzzling out the methods by which they could use their own new discoveries in the field of musical materials evolved the same kind of concept. They, too, found musical form to be related to the manner in which the words were used. Here, however, the rhythm and versification of poetry could not make its influence felt as it could in the secular music; and the several ways of using words produced musical forms which are to be understood as forms chiefly in the sense that they embodied different methods of composition. Out of these methods, as musicians more and more explored their possibilities, were to develop true musical forms.

Franco's Classification

Franco of Cologne classified the forms of his period, according to the manner in which the words were used, in the following categories:

1. Compositions in which some passages could be sung with words and some without (pure organum, conductus).
2. Compositions in which all parts have the same words (rondel).
3. Compositions in which each part has its own special words (motet).

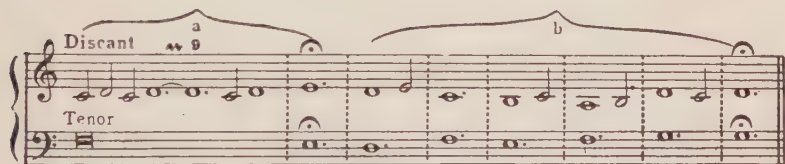
It will be sufficient to our purpose to discuss only one or two examples of each type.

Pure Organum

The oldest form belonged to the first type and was known as pure organum⁷ (*organum purum*). It was held in great veneration by the writers of the thirteenth century who, however, did not describe it exactly in accordance with the manner in which existing examples show it to have been composed. Theoretically, in its simplest two-part form, it consisted of a plain-song tenor, in inordinately long notes, to which was sung a florid unmeasured

⁷ Strict organum, free organum, new organum, and pure organum must each represent to the student a distinct type.

discant. The theorists were probably describing the form of *improvised* pure organum. Actually, when the form was composed, and thus written down in the examples which we now possess, the theoretical procedure was somewhat altered. Passages in the true style of theoretical pure organum, without words, were alternated with passages in which at least the discant, and sometimes even the tenor, were measured and sung with words. The following example which is given by Franco⁸ will give some idea of the actual procedure.



The part under bracket "a" is characteristic of the theoretical pure organum, and the part under bracket "b" is discant in the first rhythmic mode.

Pure organum was extended into compositions of some length. Its principal characteristic, long tenor notes against florid discant, was also applied to compositions of three and four parts, respectively, known as *organum triplum* and *organum quadruplum*. In these forms, however, the upper voices were, from practical necessity, measured.

The Paris School

When several composers are active in one locality, especially when they share common musical interests, it is common to call such an activity a "school" and name it from its locality. Thus the activity of a group of musicians represented chiefly by Leonin and Perotin in Paris in the period shortly before and after the beginning of the thirteenth century can be called the *Paris School*. The manuscripts which preserve many of the examples of pure organum represent the work and influence of this school, and one

⁸ *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, cap. xiii.

⁹ For a discussion of this embellishment see Wooldridge, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 118.

of them, the *Magnus Liber*, contains *organa* by Leonin and Perotin for the entire church year.

Conductus

The other form of the type in which some passages were often sung without words is of sufficient importance to warrant description. It was known as the *conductus*.

The *conductus* was a composition, often quite extended in length, in two, three, or four parts, which was characterized by an equally flowing melody in all voices. It was differentiated from all of the other learned forms of the period by the fact that the tenor part was not a plain-song melody but was, on the contrary, either a composed subject or a secular tune. The latter was more often the case. It is important to remark here both that the influence of secular song was beginning to make itself felt and that a practice which gained great momentum in the succeeding two centuries, namely, that of using a secular melody for the subject around which a sacred composition was built, here comes to our notice for the first time. The secular tendency of this form gave its composers more freedom in the choice of intervals, so that it usually contained a larger proportion of the imperfect consonances than the other forms of the period. Two other characteristics of the *conductus*, which it had in common with other contemporary forms, were its pronounced metrical basis and its use of ornamentation.

Chief among the ornamentations or embellishments was a device known as the *hocket* (*ochetus*), which seems to have formed, in the minds of some theorists, the basis of a musical form. A description of it as an embellishment will serve our purpose. It consisted essentially in dividing the melody of one voice so that it would furnish parts for two voices. While one voice sang, the other rested in a fashion which can be illustrated as follows:



¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, Part I, p. 193.

The hocket seems to have been much in favor among musicians. One is led to suspect that the practice would probably give a choir some occasion for hilarity (the word itself is related to the word which means hiccough), and it is to be noted that hocketing was actually forbidden by Pope John XXII¹¹ in 1322.

As an illustration of the *conductus*, a *Salve virgo* from the British Museum has been chosen. The student should note that although thirds and sixths are quite common, the composer of this composition apparently had no objection to such passages in fifths as characterize the last eight measures.

SALVE VIRGO (Three-part *Conductus*)

The first system of musical notation for 'Salve Virgo' consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. All three staves are in the key of B-flat major (two flats). The music is written in a medieval style with square neumes on four-line red staves. The melody is primarily in the upper voice, with the lower voices providing harmonic support. The system concludes with a final cadence.

Sal - ve vir - go vir - gi - num pa - rens ge - ni - to - ris,

The second system of musical notation continues the three-part setting. It maintains the same three-staff structure and key signature. The melodic line continues with various intervals, including some fifths as noted in the text. The system ends with a final cadence.

Sal - ve lu - men lu - mi - num ra - di - us splen - do - ris,

The third system of musical notation is the final system of the piece. It follows the same three-staff format. The melody concludes with a series of fifths in the last eight measures, as mentioned in the text. The system ends with a final cadence.

Sal - ve flos con - val - li - um stel - la ve - ri ro - ris

¹¹ Should be XXI, but there is an error in the reckoning, owing to the insertion of an antipope.



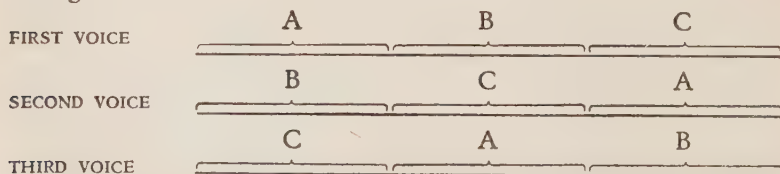
The Rondel

Franco bases his second grouping of forms on compositions in which all parts have the same words. Of this type we shall discuss the rondel.

Walter Odington, an English theorist whose treatise, *De speculatione musica*, was written about 1228, describes the making of a rondel as follows:

Let a melody, with or without text, in one of the regular modes of rhythm, and as beautiful as possible, be devised, and let each voice sing this in turn. And at the same time let other melodies be devised to accompany it in the second and (if there be three voices) in the third voice; let them proceed in consonances, and so that when one voice ascends another descends; and let the third not follow too closely the movement of either of the others, except perhaps for the sake of greater beauty. And let all of these melodies be sung by each voice in turn.¹²

An illustration of the rondel as a form can best be given by a diagram:



The rondel represents an early formalization of the device by which one voice is made to imitate the melodic contour of an-

¹² *Op. cit.*, Part I, p. 171.

other. Such imitation or interchange of voices is to be found as an incidental device in some of the music of the Paris School; it had tremendous influence in the development of the technic of composition, in that it prepared the way for much that was important in the work of composers of succeeding periods.

The Motet

The third and final group into which the music of the Franconian period may be classified contains those forms in which each voice had its own special words. The motet is the most characteristic and important member of this group.

The word *motetus* had, during the thirteenth century, a double meaning. It was used as the name for the whole form, but its earlier meaning was descriptive of the voice written directly above a tenor in which the rhythmic modal treatment had been varied by making use of the *ordines*. It is characteristic, then, of the motet that the voice which corresponded to the discant of the other forms was here called the *motetus*, and that the tenor or, as we would speak of it, the bass, contained passages which were arranged according to one of the *ordines*. Let us take the remainder of our description from Johannes de Grocheo,¹⁸ a writer who lived near the end of the thirteenth century.

The motet is a song made up of several interwoven voices—voices which have either their own texts or their own sort of syllable division and which sound together in consonances. I say "made up of several interwoven voices" because there may be three or four, and "their own texts" because each voice must have its own syllables, with the exception of the tenor, which in many motets has a text, and in many others does not.

This form has several parts, namely: *Tenor*, *motetus*, *tripulum*, *quadruplum*. . . . The part upon which the others are built, in the manner in which a house is built upon its foundation, is called the tenor; and it determines and regulates the size of the composition, just as the framework determines the size of a building.

¹⁸ Hugo Leichtentritt, *Geschichte der Motette*, p. 5.

The voice immediately above the tenor is called the *motetus*, and it usually begins on the fifth above the tenor and maintains about that relationship to it, although it can at times go to the octave.

The voice which begins at the octave above the tenor and usually remains in about that range is called the *triplum*. I say "usually," however, because when the harmony¹⁴ makes it necessary the *triplum* may go either above or below this range.

The *quadruplum* is a voice which is added to many pieces to make the harmony¹⁵ perfect. I say "many," however, because there are some pieces which have only three voices in which the harmony¹⁵ produced by the three voices is perfect.

The technic of the motet was adopted by the secular musicians such as Adam de la Hale for use with secular words, and in consequence the motet literature of the thirteenth century divides into two groups on the basis of sacred and secular words. The musical differences between the two are hardly distinguishable to the modern ear. The earliest function of the motet was, however, religious. For extraordinary religious holidays the proper parts of the Mass, such as the Alleluia, the Graduals and the Responses, were made into motets. The preponderantly religious character of the motet made it a fitting form long after other secular forms had destroyed the interest of composers in the secular motet. With varying technic and function, the word motet has remained as the name of a type of sacred choral polyphonic composition from the Franconian period until the present, and it covers a magnificent and ever-increasing literature.

Such, then, is an account of musical development from about 1050 to 1300. The outstanding advance of the period was in relation to rhythm. The importance of that should not, however, overshadow such progress as was made with the other materials of musical structure. The broadening of the harmonic horizon, the discovery of the value of imitation, and the beginnings of an understanding of musical form all hold great promise for the

¹⁴ In our sense of the word; the German translation of this passage uses the word *Wohllklang*.

¹⁵ *Zusammenklang*.

future. Only a slight hint of the magnificent secular musical art which was to come later is conveyed by the interest in learned musical science evinced by such men as Adam de la Hale. However unimportant it may be here in relation to the other aspects of the period, it is worth noting as the germ of a movement which later will gain great momentum.

The year 1300 was the threshold. To open the door and encounter the music which still holds its charm for us we must turn to a period whose products were called by its own theorists the *ars nova*, the new kind.

Readings

Gustave Reese
J. F. R. Stainer
H. E. Wooldridge
R. R. Terry
Hugo Leichtentritt
Peter Wagner
Johannes Wolf
Harold Gleason
C. E. H. de Coussemaker

Music in the Middle Ages
Early Bodleian Music
Early English Harmony
Medieval Music
Geschichte der Motette
Geschichte der Messe
Handbuch der Notationskunde
Examples of Music Before 1400
Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge

9

ARS NOVA

Music in the Church

ASIDE from the necessary discussion of the beginnings of secular music, the history of the Christian Era has thus far been confined to the activities of the churchmen. Late in the thirteenth century, particularly with Adam de la Hale, the technic evolved by the learned religious musicians was applied to the composition of secular music. That process, which we may

call the secularization of technic, maintained a slow but steady growth during the period now under discussion. Our thinking will have to follow a divided course: it will be necessary to remember that from now on musicians devoted to both the sacred and to the secular musical art will be found making important contributions to the advancement of musical technic and understanding. Let us, at the beginning of this chapter, turn our attention to the state of music in the Church.

For the moment let the student imagine what a description of present music in the United States would be like if it were to be written five hundred years hence by a historian who had access to no other sources than the program notes of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and a few of the current texts in harmony, counterpoint, and orchestration. Could he, for instance, reconstruct the antics of a Harlem jazz band from the pages of Mr. Lange's book, *Arranging for the Modern Dance Orchestra*?

In trying to fill out a lifelike picture of the beginning of the period which is characterized by the music called *ars nova*, the historian is faced with quite the same difficulty. He is forced to the conclusion that the music of the early fourteenth century had some points strikingly in common with the Harlem musical enterprises, although both the historian and the student will do well not to carry the analogy too far.

Differences Between Theory and Practice

We form our judgments of the music of that period on the few compositions which were written down. Most of them seem harmless enough. The musical activities of thousands of musicians in the churches of Europe, however, had little in common with the written compositions of the manuscripts. In an age when the power of the Church was weakened by schisms and when experimentation was the artistic vogue, the musicians were attempting to make music extemporaneously with only such guidance as they could get from contemporary treatises. While the written compositions were done by highly trained theorists working painstakingly to avoid mistakes, the music of the daily church

service depended upon the improvising abilities of the ordinary singers.

A Papal Decree

It is small wonder that more serious musicians objected to a type of singing which they said reminded them of the "baying and barking of dogs."¹ The objections of musicians only led to

¹ Jean de Muris-Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, Vol. II, p. 394.

The following interesting discussion is given by Burney in his *A General History of Music*, Vol. II, pp. 199-200, with regard to this same subject:

"Rousseau has given two considerable quotations from this work [*Speculum Musicae*] in his *Musical Dictionary*, article 'Discant,' which De Muris defines 'The singing extempore with one or more persons in different Concords in such a manner as to produce *One Harmony*.' After which he explains what he means by *Concords*, and the choice that should be made of them upon these occasions. He then severely censures the singers of his time for their ignorance and indiscriminate use of them. 'If our rules are good, with what front,' says he, 'do these dare to *discant* or *compose*, who are so ignorant of Concords as not to know which are more or less pleasing, which ought to be avoided or most frequently used; where to introduce them, or anything that concerns the true practice of the art? If they accord it is by mere chance; their voices wander about the Tenor or plain song without rule, trusting wholly to Providence for their coincidence. They throw sounds about at random, as awkward people throw stones at a mark, without hitting it once in a hundred times.'

"The good master Muris then proceeds to flagellate with great fury these corruptors of the pure and simple harmony of his time." (Here Burney gives the Latin which he translates in a footnote. We give here his footnote.)

"The Latin of this passage is so obsolete and monkish, that it seems as if it would fall more naturally into English of the sixteenth century than into that of our present time. 'But, alas! in these our dayes, some do stryve to glosse over theyr lacks of skylle with silly sayenges. This, cry they, is the *newe* method of discantyng, these be the *newe* concordes.—Howbeit they grievously offend thereby both the hearing, and the understanding of suche as be skylled to judge of theyr defects; for where we look for delight, they do include sadness. O incongruous sayenge! O wretched glosse! irrational excuse! O monstrous abuse! most rude and bestial ignoraunce! to take an asse for a man, a goat for a lyon, a sheepe for a fishe, a snake for a salmone! For in suche sorte do they confound concordes with discordes, as ye shall in no wise disurne the one from the other. O! If the good old maysters of former tyme did hear suche *discanters*, what

a multiplication of treatises through which they hoped to correct the evils. But when things got to such a state that the Pope could no longer countenance it, he could, on religious reasons, put a stop to it. This was done by Pope John XXII, who issued, in 1324, from his palace at Avignon, the following edict:

Certain disciples of the new school, much occupying themselves with the measured dividing of the *tempora*, display their probation in notes which are new to us, preferring to devise methods of their own rather than to continue singing in the old way; the music therefore of the divine offices is now performed with semibreves and minims, and with these notes of small value every composition is pestered. Moreover, they truncate the melodies with hockets, they deprave them with discants, sometimes even they stuff them with upper parts made out of secular songs. So that often they must be losing sight of the fundamental sources of our melodies in the Antiphonal and Gradual, and may thus forget what that is upon which their superstructure is raised. They may become entirely ignorant concerning the ecclesiastical tones, which they already no longer distinguish, and the limits of which they even confound, since, in the multitude of their notes, the moderate risings and temperate descents of the plain song, by which the scales themselves are to be known one from another, must be entirely obscured. Their voices are incessantly running to and fro, intoxicating the ear, not soothing it, while the men themselves endeavor to convey by their gestures the sentiment of the music which they utter. As a consequence of all this, devotion, the true end of worship, is little thought of, and wantonness, which ought to be eschewed, increases.

This state of things, hitherto the common one, we and our brethren have regarded as standing in need of correction; and we now hasten therefore to banish those methods, nay, rather

would they say or do? Out of doubte they wolde thus chyde them and say, This discant, whereof ye now make use, ye do not concordaunte with me; wherefore do ye thrust yourselves in? ye do not agree with me; ye are an adversay, and a scandal unto me. O that he wolde be dumb! This is not *concordynge* but most doatyng and delyrious *discordynge*."

to cast them entirely away, and to put them to flight more effectual than heretofore, far from the house of God. Wherefore, having taken counsel with our brethren, we straitly command that no one henceforward shall think himself at liberty to attempt those methods, or methods like them, in the aforesaid Offices, and especially in the canonical Hours, or in the solemn celebration of the Mass.

And if any be disobedient, let him, on the authority of this canon, be punished by a suspension from office of eight days; either by the Ordinary of the diocese in which the forbidden things are done or by his deputies in places not exempt from episcopal authority, or, in places which are exempt, by such of their offices as are usually considered responsible for the correction of irregularities and excesses, and such like matters.

Yet, for all this, it is not our intention to forbid, occasionally—and especially upon feast days or in the solemn celebrations of the mass and in the aforesaid divine offices—the use of some consonances, for example the eighth, fifth, and fourth, which heighten the beauty of the melody; such intervals therefore may be sung above the plain *cantus ecclesiasticus*, yet so that the integrity of the *cantus* itself may remain intact, and that nothing in the authoritative music be changed. Used in such sort the consonances would much more than by any other method both soothe the hearer and arouse his devotion, and also would not destroy religious feeling in the minds of the singers.

Here we have a document almost as illuminating to us as a talking picture of the Harlem performers would be to our hypothetical future historian. Musical development had moved so rapidly that it had carried church musicians to the place where the pope himself had to call a halt. The Franconian period showed us the beginnings of some of the things about which John XXII complained. But they multiplied immensely during the less than fifty years between the apogee of the *ars antiqua*, as the characteristically triple rhythm music of the Franconian period came to be called, and the pope's edict of 1324 when the *ars nova* had

gained the full interest of musicians. Our description of these developments will sound prosaic in the light of what we are led to guess about the actual performance of the music. But to them we must nevertheless turn our attention. The pope was right when he complained about how "these notes of small value" spoiled the plain song as a religious chant. The plain song as a religious chant is one thing; the plain song as the warp around which modern music was woven is another; and as long as the weaving process continues we must follow it.

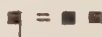
A New Rhythmic Procedure

Ars nova is the name for a new rhythmic procedure, from the name of Philippe de Vitri's treatise in which it was described. The learned musicians discovered duple measure; and, in consequence, they had to reshape their whole rhythmic system, along with its notation. Instead of the five rhythmic modes based upon poetic meters, some of them distorted to fit the ternary division, we now find two modes based upon the two possible mathematical relationships. The mode (*modus*) governs the division of the long into breves. In the mode perfect (*modus perfectus*)—note that the quality of perfection is held over from the former period—the long is equal to three breves, and in the mode imperfect (*modus imperfectus*) the long has the value of two breves.

PERFECT MODE



IMPERFECT MODE



Just as characteristic of the *ars nova* is, however, the addition to the rhythmic scheme of two smaller note values, the semibreve ♦ and the minim ◆ which had to be related to the whole system. The relation of the breve to the semibreve was called time (*tempus*). Time perfect (*tempus perfectum*) gave the breve the value of three semibreves and time imperfect (*tempus imperfectum*) gave it the value of two.

PERFECT TIME



IMPERFECT TIME



The division of the semibreve into minims was called prolation (*prolatio*) and was carried out in exactly the same manner as the other relationships.

PERFECT PROLATION



IMPERFECT PROLATION



The complications of this rhythmic system eventually made necessary the invention of signs for the definition of mode, time, and prolation. With the adoption of those signs the new mensural system was complete. The signs were as follows:

	PERFECT	IMPERFECT
MODE		
TIME		
PROLATION		
	placed within the sign for time	placed across the sign for time

The signs for time and prolation were combined. Thus the sign for time perfect, prolation perfect would be ; for time perfect, prolation imperfect ; for time imperfect, prolation perfect and for time imperfect, prolation imperfect . The student will notice that two of these signatures, the C and the have remained in our own notation.

This highly complicated rhythmic system was adopted by all of the musicians of the time; music based upon it was used both in the court and the cathedral, and the forms in which it was incorporated came from both.

The New Motet

The motet, as a vehicle for both sacred and secular composition, was continued and expanded to make use of the new rhythms. This rhythmic expansion was characterized by the gradual disappearance of the use of the ordines which were so necessary to the construction of the earlier motet. The class of popular

songs to which the rondel of the Franconian period belonged gained in favor particularly for courtly entertainment. The other forms of the *ars antiqua* did not lend themselves to the new treatment, and were gradually abandoned. Their place was taken by a new species which was destined to be of great importance in the history of music, the polyphonic setting of the Ordinary of the Mass to which John XXII took exception.

New Musical Settings of the Mass

The earliest known complete setting of the Ordinary is contained in a manuscript found at Tournai which dates from about 1300. The only other complete Mass surviving from the fourteenth century was composed by Guillaume de Machaut. The fact that such a small proportion of Masses from this whole century can be found² shows the influence of both the common method of improvising and the edict prohibiting florid settings of the liturgy.

The Canon

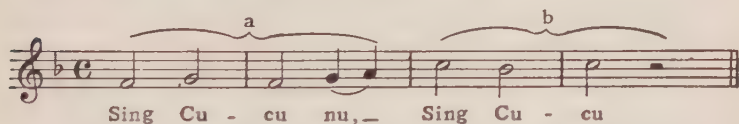
Melodic imitation—the transfer of melodic phrases from one voice to another—was used as a device for embellishment by many of the thirteenth-century composers of pure organum. It appears as a formal device in the rondel as that form was described by Odington. In the fourteenth century it became increasingly useful. As the possibilities inherent in imitation became more clearly understood they gave rise to pieces of greater and greater complexity arriving finally at what is now known as the *canon*. The word canon originally referred to the instructions given with the music which told how the music was to be performed to secure the imitation. During the fourteenth century the term was applied to any piece the performance of which necessitated such instructions. But the use of this word was not strict, and pieces in

²For a complete description of these works see: Peter Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*; C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge*; H. E. Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period*, Part I.

which one voice followed or "chased" another were given names which described the method. Thus in France we meet the *chase*, in Italy the *caccia*, and in England the *rota*.

The most famous piece of music of the whole medieval period is the English *rota*, "Sumer is icumen in." It has long been a cause of amazement to musical scholars because originally the evidence seemed to indicate that it was composed by John of Fornsete, at Reading Abbey in England, about the year 1240. A recent study³ has revised the date of the "Reading Rota," placing its composition at about the year 1310, where it fits comfortably as a still remarkable example of the canon.

"Sumer is icumen in" is a two-part rondel, exactly as described by Odington, upon which a four-part canon has been superimposed. The two lower voices, called the *pes* or "foot" furnish a constantly repeated figure—actually a very early example of the *ostinato*—based upon the following two phrases:



Exactly in accordance with the prescription for the rondel, two voices follow themselves through these phrases, in the following fashion:



Above this *pes* the other four voices are to be sung in the manner of a traditional round, with each new voice making its entrance when the previous voice reaches the first note after the sign.

³ Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Sumer is icumen in," *A Revision*. University of California Press, 1944. This is a brilliant study with which every serious student of music history should be familiar, not only for its results but also for the careful methods which it implies.

SUMER IS ICUMEN IN

Sum-er is i - cu-men in — Lhu-de sing Cu - cu

Grow - eth sed and blow - eth med, And springththe w - de

nu; Sing Cu - cu Aw - e blet - eth

af - ter lomb, Lhouth af - ter cal - ve cu; Bul - loc stert - eth,

buck - e vert - eth, Mu - rie sing Cu - cu. Cu - cu

Cu - cu, Wel sing - es thu Cu - cu, — Ne swick thu na - ver nu

Pes. Sing Cu - cu, nu, — Sing Cu - cu

Sing Cu - cu Sing Cu - cu, nu, —

The Madrigal

Another important fourteenth-century form was the *madrigale* or *mandriale*. The *madrigal* was a secular composition which spread during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the whole of Europe and became, with the motet, one of the two great choral forms. At the time of its first appearance in Italy it was

an exceedingly simple structure consisting of two main portions. One part was composed for several stanzas of text and the other part, called the *ritornello*, using new music and a different rhythm, came immediately after each stanza. This form will be seen to be closely related structurally to the older Troubadour *rondet de carol*, mentioned in Chapter 8. It may be diagrammed as follows:

STANZA	RITORNELLO	STANZA	RITORNELLO	STANZA	RITORNELLO
A	B	A	C	A	D

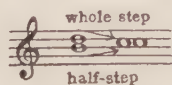
The fourteenth-century Italian madrigal is important not only as the beginning of an important choral form, but as a connecting link between the older *rondet de carol* and the later rondo.

Harmonic Innovations

The harmonic innovations of the *ars nova* are particularly important. They consisted of a better understanding of the perfect cadence, changes toward a more modern usage of the rules of counterpoint, a broadening of the application of *musica ficta*, and the introduction and use of *fauxbourdon* and *gymel*.

The Cadence

Illustrations were given in Chapter 8 of the cadence in its primitive form. During the fourteenth century, musicians made the important discovery that if, in the *occursus* or close, two voices came together, the upper voice by moving down a whole step and the lower by moving up a half-step, the result would produce an effect of finality that could be obtained in no other way.



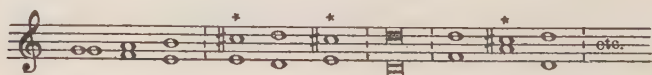
This apparently simple device was later to define the harmonic relationship of dominant and tonic, and to be the cornerstone of the whole modern harmonic structure which finally destroyed and replaced the unwieldy medieval modal system.

New Rules of Counterpoint

Changes in the rules governing voice progression, now called rules of counterpoint, from the expression *punctum contra punctum* (point against point), came as a result of the desire to make voices still more independent and to allow more freedom for the harmonic or vertical relationships. The first of these changes was the final prohibition of consecutive perfect intervals of the same kind. The progressions which were most characteristic of the oldest forms of organum were now looked upon by the theorists as being bad.

Musica Ficta

The second change in contrapuntal procedure called for the alternation of perfect and imperfect consonant intervals. This leads us directly to the difficult subject of *musica ficta*. *Musica ficta* was at first the name applied to the alteration necessary to maintain the perfect fifth above $b\sharp$. Now, however, the theorists found another necessity for note alteration arising out of this new contrapuntal rule. Because the minor sixth, which appeared in almost every such passage, was not a consonant, but a dissonant interval, it could not be used in obeying this rule. It was consequently changed to a major sixth. The same change was often applied to a minor third. The sharp sign grew out of the older square b : \sharp (diesis), \times (crux), $\#$ (sharp).⁴



NOTE: The alterations in the illustrations are shown by the asterisks.

The inclusion of such altered tones was the beginning of a great expansion in the use of *musica ficta*. Before the fourteenth century was over, every chromatic semitone within the octave could be accounted for theoretically. This did not mean that our freedom in the use of chromatic intervals was even approached, but it did

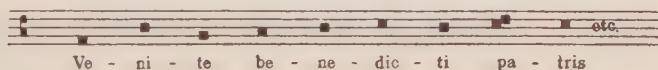
⁴ French *dièse*, German *Kreutz*.

mean a great extension of musical materials. The sharp and flat signs began to appear with increasing frequency, but, what is of even greater importance, the rules governing their use were so complex as to make extemporization increasingly difficult.

Fauxbourdon

Fauxbourdon,⁵ or false bass, was a peculiar practice which came into wide use and received its name in France early in the fifteenth century. The account of its introduction which explains it as a reaction to the pope's injunction against discanting⁶ is no longer tenable. It probably originated as an ancient English⁷ or Welsh manner of singing which dates back to the early fourteenth century.

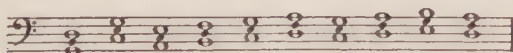
The method by which church musicians used *fauxbourdon* is interesting chiefly because it was an important step in the development which took them from the empty fifth of the early organum to the complete triad. They sang the plain song just as it was found in the antiphony:⁸



They organized it:



Then by introducing a third between every fifth, and instructing the singer who sang the original plain-song melody to transpose it an octave higher (by giving it to a high voice instead of a bass voice) they produced *fauxbourdon*. Written down it would look as follows:



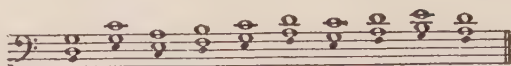
⁵ *Faburden, falso bordone.*

⁶ See Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period*, Part II, pp. 298-314.

⁷ See Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert.*

⁸ Our example of the plain song is taken from p. 312 of the 1912 *Antiphonale.*

It sounded, however, like this:



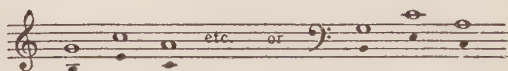
The consecutive fifths are gone, the consecutive fourths are between two upper voices, and the final result is what must have been an astounding fabric of consecutive thirds and sixths. There were several variations of this device, one of which left the plain song in the lowest voice.

Gymel

Gymel was a practice quite similar to *fauxbourdon*, but of much less widespread use and importance. It consisted of the plain-song melody with only the third added to it:



This could be sung as it was written or by transposing either the melody up an octave or the part in thirds down an octave:



Both *fauxbourdon* and *gymel* were closely related to the old strict organum in method, and consequently were stiff and mechanical. As far as the independence of voice structure which had been developed through the periods of *ars antiqua* and *ars nova* they indicate a distinct step backward. They do, on the other hand, mark a distinct step forward in the habilitation of the intervals of the sixth and the third. Composed music now begins to make use of long chains of consecutive sixths and, less often, thirds. If we remember that the rule allowing imperfect consonant intervals only between perfect consonances belongs also to the period of *ars nova*, the importance of *fauxbourdon* in this regard can be more easily grasped.

Fourteenth-Century Composers

During the *ars nova* period more and more men were applying their increasingly complex musical resources in writing down the music they made. Thus, as our information concerning the period increases, we are able to speak of composers: men who wrote down music because it was worth keeping and not simply to illustrate a theoretical treatise. The most important composers of the fourteenth century were the French musician and poet, Guillaume de Machaut, already mentioned in connection with early secular music and as the composer of one of the early complete settings of the Mass, and the Italian Francesco Landini.

Landini (1325-1397) was a poet, composer, and performer on many instruments, most famous as an organist. His fame among his contemporaries was due partly to his blindness, but he was nevertheless the center of an important musical activity in Florence, and more than one-third of the known compositions—madrigals, cacce, and ballate (similar to the *rondet de carol*)—from fourteenth-century Italy can be traced to him.

Summary

The progress made during the fourteenth century was considerable. It may be summed up as follows:

1. The new rhythmic procedure, with its smaller note values and its use of *both* duple and triple rhythm.
2. The further development of musical forms, which included the expansion of the motet, the early use of the Ordinary of the Mass as a musical form, the development of the canon, and the earliest use of the madrigal with its peculiar rondolike structure.

The personalities of composers as individuals with musical imagination have yet to make their impress on the course of musical development. Here and there, it is true, men's names have demanded mention, but chiefly for the purpose of dating some particular invention or of finding an explanation to some par-

ticularly knotty problem. On the other hand, the countless thousands of musicians who, bit by bit, were adding to the materials out of which music could be made are of immense importance. An art will eventually emerge, and with that art will come artists and schools. The fifteenth century, to which we now turn, will begin the harvest for which the preceding centuries had so painfully prepared.

Readings

R. R. Terry	<i>Medieval Music</i>
Charles Robert Hope	<i>Medieval Music</i>
Edward Dickinson	<i>Music in the History of the Western Church</i>
C. E. H. de Coussemaker	<i>Scriptores de musica medii aevi</i>
	<i>Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge</i>
Peter Wagner	<i>Geschichte der Messe</i>
Hugo Riemann	<i>Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert</i>
Harold Gleason	<i>Examples of Music Before 1400</i>
Leonard Ellinwood	<i>The Works of Francesco Landini</i>
Gustave Reese	<i>Music in the Middle Ages</i>
Manfred F. Bukofzer	<i>"Sumer is icumen in," A Revision</i>

Part Three: The Realization of the Choral Implications of the Medieval Period

PROLOGUE:

RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION, DISCOVERY

THE RENEWAL of interest in the art and learning of ancient Greece and Rome was one of the results of the quickened life and widened horizon of late medieval Europe. Medieval scholarship accepted its ancient texts with little critical curiosity. Scholars learned very slowly that their own world could furnish the material for further scholarship. But some of them began to use their knowledge for nonclerical purposes, and gradually a body of literature in the so-called vulgar languages came into being. This was a secular interest, and it was bound to grow. It was destined, moreover, to lead to the discovery that many of the writings inherited from the Greek and Roman world were secular. As one discovery led to another, the reader and writer of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found that ecclesiastical Latin led him back to classical Latin, which in turn

drew him back to ancient Greek. Boccaccio's sighs over the one book in his library that he could not read because its language was Greek could not be heard from his successors. They learned to read Greek.

With Boccaccio (1313-1375) we meet many of the characteristic interests which were to change the intellectual climate of the world. He sighed over his Greek book, and he wrote the Decameron in Italian. He was a scholar, but as a citizen of Florence he wrote for the amusement of his friends in their own language.

This secularization was not directed against the Church; it was a part of the broadening interests of men who were trained by the Church and who, in the period immediately ahead, were to lead and direct it.

It had begun with the interest of the Scholastics in Aristotle, the desire of men like Aquinas to buttress their religious faith with a completely reasoned systematic philosophy. It had continued through the questioning of the Scholastic method by men like Duns Scotus (1270-1308) and William of Ockham (1280-1349) and was to continue into the sixteenth-century Reformation. It was unavoidably implied in the sighs of men like Boccaccio.

Genuine conflicts between ecclesiastical and secular interests had begun to arise, however. With the gradual weakening of the feudal organization of medieval Europe the outlines of modern states began to appear. As the leaders of these states, the kings, sought more and more power, they came into conflict with the rulers of the Church. The story is long and complex and need not detain us long. In the early thirteenth century Innocent III could discipline King John of England by absolving the king's subjects from obedience to him. But a century later Philip IV of France was able to move the papacy from

Rome to Avignon. Schisms and heresies, from the Albigenses in the twelfth century through the Waldenses and the Lollards to the Hussites in the fifteenth century, demonstrated that some men felt free to break away from their inherited beliefs and from the ecclesiastical organization which exercised control over them.

More closely connected to our story, however, was the movement which came to be called the Renaissance, an intellectual ferment which began in Italy during the fourteenth century and continued on through the fifteenth into the sixteenth. The Renaissance grew out of the medieval need for help from the ancient world, and its early artists, like Giotto working in the Franciscan church at Assisi, were content to offer most of their talent and energy to the Church. With the increase in wealth and the development of taste of the residents of commercial centers all over Europe, but particularly in such Italian towns as Florence and Venice, society came to be less and less Church-centered. Men, even many churchmen, began to act as though the amenities of this world were worth cultivating. A man-centered society, justified by humanistic concepts that came with the new learning, gradually replaced the dour medieval outlook. Many changes came imperceptibly to the generations involved in them, but as we look back on the centuries between 1400 and 1600 it seems to us that the world suddenly became a much brighter and pleasanter place in which to live.

Artists began to use their talents in secular enterprises. Clothing, furniture, houses, public buildings became luxurious and decorative. Secular music and literature excited enough interest to be preserved. Secular ideas invaded the Church, and although the works of "modern" painters on the walls and ceilings of many churches aroused some pro-

test, the works of men of genius were generally accepted in spite of their secular qualities. As the Renaissance reached its full momentum at the end of the fifteenth century in the Florence of Lorenzo de Medici and the Rome of the Borgia and Medici popes, it becomes more and more evident that secular art represented the outlook of men who momentarily guided the fortunes of the Church.

The two centuries from 1400 to 1600, which we are about to enter in our study of the history of music, are two of the most fascinating centuries in all history. The gates opened not only on new geographical worlds in the Indies and Cathay and the Americas, but on new vistas for the human spirit. As never before, individual men—men who lived in a society which recognized and trained and rewarded their genius—jostle each other on the pages of history. New maps of a new world were followed by new books. Maps and books led men to explore new places and ideas, to build new things, invent new devices, write new poems, compose new music, make new friends, live new lives. These were the centuries which began with the letting of the contract for the bronze doors for the Baptistery in Florence and ended after the paintings in the Sistine Chapel at Rome had been completed. They saw the discovery of America and its Spanish colonization, the martyrdom of John Huss and Savonarola, and the triumph of Henry VIII and Martin Luther. Erasmus retranslated the Bible, wrote In Praise of Folly, and had his portrait painted by Holbein. Thomas More wrote his Utopia, Cervantes his Don Quixote, Rabelais his Gargantua and Pantagruel, Villon his Poems, and Montaigne his Essays. Experiences demonstrated that the sun, not the earth, is the center of the solar system. Men learned to print books, to paint with oils, to use gunpowder and the clock.

During all this tumultuous time, musicians made music much as they do today, for all of the old and many new purposes. For both old and new, sacred and secular, they taught themselves to make new music.

IO

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND THE RISE OF SCHOOLS

Causes for Rapid Development

THE MUSICAL development of the fifteenth century was so rich and profuse in comparison to that of preceding centuries that it can best be approached in terms of underlying cause and effect. These may be tabulated as follows:

1. Founding of royal chapels, and the consequent impetus given to musical activity.
2. The rise of nationalism, and the consequent musical differentiation on a geographical basis.
3. The rapid accumulation of musical resources, and the consequent greater scope for men of genius.

The first of these can be discussed very briefly. Until about the beginning of the fifteenth century the musical establishments of Europe had been of only two kinds: first, the clerical or semi-clerical choirs of the churches, monasteries, and cathedrals, devoted entirely to the cultivation of sacred music; and, second, the guild musicians of secular life who, for the most part, were attached to the retinues of the nobility. This latter group, descended from the Troubadours, we shall have occasion to discuss in a later chapter devoted to musical instruments. The first group,

as we have already seen, includes the musicians whose discoveries have been the basis for most of our discussion so far. However great their contributions may have been, the conditions of these church musicians kept most of them modestly anonymous and, what is more important, furnished them an almost insurmountable background of conservatism.

At about the beginning of the fifteenth century a new kind of musical establishment began to make its appearance, an establishment which combined the learning of the monastery with the brilliancy and opportunity for personal renown of the royal court. This new institution was the royal chapel, established all over Europe by kings and princes in imitation of the papal choir. The impetus which the royal chapel gave to music cannot be overemphasized.¹

The second influence which now became apparent was exerted by the rising nationalism of Europe. Its results, as far as the course of music history is concerned, were twofold. In the first place, it made more compact the relationships of musicians within a certain area, and thus began the process which resulted in a geographical differentiation between groups of composers on the basis of distinctive elements of musical style. During the fifteenth century we must speak more often of *schools* of musicians. In the second place, the tendency to nationalism made some parts of Europe more conducive to musical development than others; consequently we shall see schools springing up in some localities while in others no important musical activity is apparent.

The third influence which underlay the immense musical activity was the rapid accumulation of musical resources. Our chief business thus far has been to trace that accumulation. Here, however, we are led to discuss it not as an end in itself but as the fundamental cause for the sudden appearance, in the fifteenth century, of the first of the long list of composers who, in our

¹ Tinctoris, one of the important fifteenth-century theorists, attributed all of the improvements of his time to the Chapels Royal. Membership in such an organization was much sought, "so that many able men were stirred up to a closer study of the art, in order both to obtain an appointment and to do well in it. Whence it comes that in the present age the science of our music has received so wonderful an enlargement that it might seem to be a new art."

future discussions, will be found to dominate the whole story of musical development.

In the three centuries preceding the fifteenth the making of part-music was, except in a few centers where composers were at work, a matter of improvising according to the rules laid down by the theorists. The improvising, by several singers, of parts which were supposed to fit together, was, as a matter of actual fact, continued even into the sixteenth century in a form known as *discant supra librum*. The impossibility that this type of music making could maintain its old position as the outpost of musical growth in the face of the development of a true counterpoint is obvious. Several musicians, singing together, simply could not make full use of such resources as the possibilities of voice motion and imitation, the use of *musica ficta*, and the complications of rhythmic structure which music now had at its command. All those resources could be used to achieve a satisfactory artistic result only by a composer who could work slowly and then transmit his intention to performers through a notation.

After this brief notice of fundamental causes we are ready to examine the activity of the fifteenth century. We shall now discuss the artistic progress made by individual composers, and the influence on each other of composers grouped into schools.

The Early English School

Early in the fifteenth century another grouping together of composers in support of a definite kind of musical style became apparent. This occurred among English composers, of whom there existed two groups. Both groups had enough in common so that they belong together, although one was evidently active in London at the Royal Chapel, and the other was located on the Continent in the part of France which at that time still belonged to England.

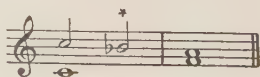
John Dunstable

John Dunstable (1370?-1453) was the leader of this early English school. He was much better known on the Continent than in

England and the supposition is that he lived most of his productive life in France. Dunstable is called, by many historians, the first composer. We have seen that such a statement is by no means strictly true; it is no longer possible to call him the *first* composer whose influence was strong enough to make him the center of a school. The music of these early English musicians must have been a source of both surprise and delight to French and Italian musicians of the same period. It was characterized by innovations which really mark the change from *ars nova* to the fifteenth century.

In spite of the fact that the musicians of the fourteenth century had made important advances in the definition of discord and in the use of the third and sixth, no composer before Dunstable had achieved a natural use of either. The distinct style of Dunstable and his English contemporaries was achieved through a characteristic use of the third and the sixth, and through their discovery of the natural method of treating discords. Their use of third and sixth was probably due to the fact that *fauxbourdon* had taken a stronger hold on English musicians than on those of the Continent. It consisted of alternating the third with the sixth, omitting many of the harsh discords and empty perfect concords. The result of this device was a smooth texture made up chiefly of imperfect concords which, by its constant interchange of interesting intervals, avoided both the monotony and the harshness of earlier music.

Dunstable's treatment of discords was revolutionary and constituted a most important contribution to the history of music. The older method had been to place the discord on a weak beat between two concords. Without any very well-developed understanding of harmony this practice was arbitrary and often produced results which appeal to us as being intolerably rough. Dunstable eliminated this roughness by restricting his use of discords to what we call suspensions and passing tones. The passing tone is the dissonant tone which appears in stepwise progression between two harmonic tones:



The suspension is a tone at first concordant but made discordant by a movement of the harmony. It resolves eventually into a harmonic tone:



This treatment of discord by preparation and resolution solved the century-old problem, and, together with the characteristic English use of thirds and sixths produced a style which was not only definitely different, but which was destined to have an immense influence on all fifteenth-century composers. The fragment of one of Dunstable's motets,² given here as an illustration, will serve to explain his style. It will repay close study.

MOTET: QUAM PULCRA ES

Dunstable

Quam pulcra es et quam deco- ra ca-

Quam pulcra es et quam deco- ra ca-

Quam pulcra es et quam deco- ra ca-

ris-si-ma in de-li-ci-is, etc.

ris-si-ma in de-li-ci-is, etc.

ris-si-ma in de-li-ci-is, etc.

Some of the works of Dunstable present early examples of those musical puzzles in the form of difficult problems of notation

²H. V. Hughes, *Early English Harmony*, Vol. III, pp. 127-129.

which are to be met so often later in the century. Their importance lies not in the interest in the puzzle but in the fact that composers were making music which depended wholly upon *musical* principles for its construction. They were mastering the technical intricacies inherent in the imitative possibilities of musical sound. Dunstable may be credited, then, with the composition of some of the earliest works of any great length which are worked out coherently on the sort of musical scheme which is evident in *Sumer is icumen in*:

*The Early Netherlands School*³

Early in the fifteenth century in northern France and the low countries the men who inherited the tradition of *ars nova* developed a school of composition. Musical activity was intense, partly owing to the fact that musicians from the north were traveling back and forth across France to Rome, and partly because of the other influences which have already been mentioned. A large group of composers, among whom should be mentioned Carmen, Cesaris, Binchois, Dufay, Busnois, and Caron, are represented by compositions in the collections of manuscripts which give us our information concerning the music of the time. The leader of the school, and the man whose works are most representative, was Guillaume Dufay. Because his works sum up the accomplishments of the whole school, we shall confine our discussion to him.

Guillaume Dufay

Dufay was born about the year 1400 in the city of Cambrai. As a boy he sang in the choir of the local cathedral where he became familiar with the method and technic of the *ars nova* as it had been practiced by such men as Machaut. From 1428 until 1437 he was a member of the papal choir in Rome. In 1437

³ Often called the Flemish and sometimes the Gallo-Belgic School.

he returned to Cambrai where, as Canon of the Cathedral, he spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1474.⁴

Dufay's works, of which fairly complete studies have been made,⁵ fall into two distinct periods. The music of his first period, which ended about 1437, the year he returned to Cambrai, shows very little advance over such a composer as Machaut, of the preceding century. It is characterized by the melodic dryness and harsh arbitrary discord of the *ars nova*. From 1437, however, Dufay's music distinctly shows the influence of Dunstable. The style completely changes. Instead of the former melodic dryness, the melodies of all the parts are now suave and flowing. The old arbitrary discords have disappeared, to be replaced by a pure and natural harmony which, although it is still characterized by the use of the empty fifths and octaves, is an advance even over the harmonic writing of Dunstable. The process by which composers are learning the relationships which exist between chords is continuing, although as yet it is by no means complete.

Dufay's compositions were to be of immediate influence chiefly because of his tendency to employ the devices of canon and imitation. His use of these pointed the direction for his successors; his application of the device of imitation was a landmark in the development of the fugue form.

The illustrations of Dufay's works are important. The first illustration is a four-part setting of vernacular words. Notice that the *fuga* is complete in the two upper voices, and that the imitation is at the distance of two measures (*duorum temporum*).

⁴ Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*, Vol. III. Other authorities, Wooldridge, among them, give the year 1470 as the date of Dufay's death.

⁵ Stainer, *Dufay and His Contemporaries*.

PAR DROIT JE PUIS (Fuga Duorum Temporum) ⁶

G. Dufay

♩ : ♩ of original

Fuga

Par droit je puis bien com-plaindre et gé.

Contra tenor
concordans
cum fuga

Contra tenor
concordans
cum omnibus

mir-

guy suy e - sent de sou-las

Par droit je puis bien com-plaindre et gé - mir

et de joy - e

guy suy e - sent de sou-las et de joy - e

2

un seul con-fort ou pren dre ne sa roy e

un seul con-fort ou pren

schay co-ment me puis se man te nir

dre ne sa roy e ne schay co ment me

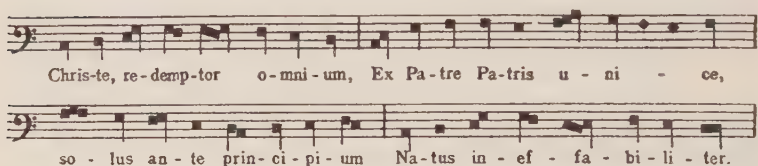
2

puis se man-te nir

Dufay's works include various settings of the Ordinary of the Mass and numerous settings of the parts of the Proper, such as hymns and antiphonals. The two following hymns are characteristic of his treatment of these forms. The plain-song setting of the first verse and of the Amen is retained and the composer is responsible for the polyphonic setting of the second verse.

CHRISTE REDEMPTOR⁷

G. Dufay



Contra Tenor

Tu lu - men, tu splen - dor Pa - - -
Tu lu - men, tu splen - dor Pa - - -
Tu lu - men, tu splen - dor Pa - - -

tris, Tu spes per-en-nis o - - - mni-um.
tris, Tu spes per-en - nis o - - - mni-um. In -
tris, Tu spes per-en - nis o - - - mni - um. In -

⁷ This hymn is a part of the Trent Codex and is printed in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Vol. VII, pp. 161-162. The plain-song version of the entire hymn may be found in the *Antiphonale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae pro diurnis horis* in two places. With the words of this illustration it may be found in the *Appendix hymni officii romani*, p. 12. To the words *Jesu redemptor omnium*, the second verse of which appears as the second verse of our illustration, it is found on p. 228.

In - ten-de, quas fun - dunt pre - ces Tu-
 ten - de, quas fún - dunt pre - ces Tu-

i per or - bem fa - mu - li. A - men.
 i per or - bem fa - mu - li.

CONDITOR ALME SIDERUM^s G. Dufay

Con - di - tor al - me si - de - rum, Ae - ter - na lox cre - den - ti - um,;
 Chri - ste re - dem - tor om - ni - um, Ex - du - di pre - ces sup - pli - cum.

Contra Tenor Tenor
 Qui con - do - lens in - te - ri - tum, Mor-
 Qui con - do - lens in - te - ri - tum, Mor-

^s This hymn is a part of the Trent Codex and is printed in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Vol. VII, p. 162. The plain-song version of the entire hymn may be found in the *Antiphonale* in two places. There is a slight change from the plain-song melody given here to the official melody in the *Antiphonale*.

tis per-i-re sae-cu-lum, sal-va-sti mun-dum lan-gui-

tis per-i-re sae-cu-lum, sal-va-sti mun-dum lan-gui-

tis per-i-re sae-cu-lum, sal-va-sti mun-dum lan-gui-

dum, Do-nans re-is re-me-di-um.

dum, Do-nans re-is re-me-di-um. A-men

dum, Do-nans re-is re-me-di-um.

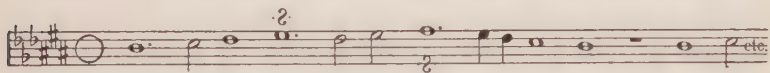
Johannes Okeghem

At the death of Dufay in 1470 the leadership of the Netherlands School, which, in the generation immediately following that of Dufay, included such men as Jacob Obrecht (1430-1505), Antonius Wyngaerde (?-1499?), and Jean Regis, passed to Johannes Okeghem. Okeghem was born in Antwerp between 1430 and 1434. The outline of his life and training is almost exactly like that of Dufay. As a boy he was a singer in the choir of the Antwerp Cathedral. There is some reason to believe that he went from Antwerp to Italy. From 1452 until his death in 1495 he was connected with the Royal Chapel in Paris as singer, composer, and finally as director.

In discussing Okeghem's contribution to the development of music it is necessary to emphasize the distinction between technic and artistic realization. The progress in the direction of making music sound well, which might have been expected of the immediate successor to Dunstable and Dufay, was not entirely realized by Okeghem. His energies were spent in the direction, none

the less important at this stage, of technical mastery. Many of his compositions are problems which he seems to have set for himself in order that he might add, through their solution, to the technic of composition.

It is not entirely fair to Okeghem as a composer to overemphasize his work in the development of the formal resources of polyphony, but his greatest accomplishments were, nevertheless, in that direction. Such purely technical aspects of composition as the possibilities of thematic augmentation and diminution, inversion and cancrizans, in canonic and fugal compositions, were brought close enough to perfection by him so that his successors could use them with perfect freedom. Not only was Okeghem interested in developing the known resources of polyphony, but he was, as Glareanus⁹ tells us, interested in a new form which illustrates both the technical proficiency of the composer and the part that *musica ficta* was playing in the application of the medieval modes to polyphonic music. The composition from which we shall cite a part has been used by almost every writer from Glareanus to the present. It is a fuga for three voices in a form which Okeghem called *catholica*. The *catholica* was a composition which could be sung at any step of the scale, that is to say, in any mode, and still be satisfactory harmonically. The notation of the original signature¹⁰ is interesting; a clear indication to the singers to make their own choice. Notice that no clef is used.

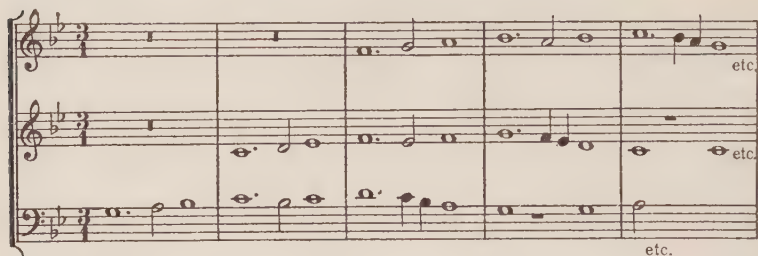


In the solution of this composition, the voices enter each one a perfect fourth above the other, at the distance of a perfect breve

⁹ Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (German translation by Peter Bohn, Leipzig, 1888), pp. 409-411. Glareanus was a very important Swiss theorist of the first half of the sixteenth century. His *Dodecachordon*, published at Basel in 1547, is an important source for the music of the fifteenth century because of the works used as illustrations.

¹⁰ The complete Canon, as Okeghem gave it, may be found in Burney; *A General History of Music*, Vol. II, pp. 474-475. Burney's solution, however, is not correct. A correct solution is to be found either in the German translation of the *Dodecachordon* previously cited, or in Wooldrige, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 65-66.

apart ($\text{H} = \text{o o o}$). The signature of two flats, indicating a twice transposed Aeolian mode, is generally used, although Okeghem's intention was that any signature to three flats or three sharps would be possible. The solution of the fragment we have given is as follows:



This composition marks an interesting and important step in tonal development. It indicates, by the fact that the composer does not predetermine the mode, his willingness to allow the occurrence of unregulated chord combinations. That meant an immense broadening of tonal possibilities. On the other hand, however, that same willingness to allow unregulated combinations indicates that the feeling for a harmony which would naturally and normally *define the mode* had not yet arrived. Perhaps the reason that Okeghem is looked upon as a great technician, but as a rather uninteresting composer, may be explained by the fact that he occupied this tonal halfway ground.

Attention should be called to the fact that in this type of composition the increased technical facility has freed the composer from any dependence upon a *cantus firmus*, as the bit of plain song or popular melody around which the composer necessarily constructed his music was called. Such subject matter will be met with again, but only at the choice of the composer.

Before going on to Okeghem's successors, in whose works we shall examine still further the polyphonic intricacies which Okeghem did so much to perfect, it will not be beside our point to quote a paragraph from Burney, the eighteenth-century music historian. He says, in speaking of some of Okeghem's works which served as illustrations in his history, the following:

These compositions are given rather as specimens of a determined spirit of patient perseverance, than as models of imitation. In music, different from all other arts, learning and labor seem to have preceded taste and invention, from both of which the times under consideration are still very remote. But as the chants of the Church were the groundwork of all composition at this period, the ears of the congregation seem to have been less consulted than the eye of the performer, who was to solve canonical mysteries, and discover latent beauties of ingenuity and contrivance, about which the hearers were indifferent, provided the general harmony was pleasing. However, the performer's attention was kept on the stretch, and perhaps he gained in mental amusement, what was wanting in sensual.¹¹

Josquin des Prés

Josquin des Prés, a pupil of Okeghem, was the great genius of the fifteenth century. He was born in Condé in 1450.¹² When his studies in Paris with Okeghem were finished he went to Italy, where traces of his activity have been found in Rome, Florence, Milan, and Ferrara. His stay in Italy was during the most brilliant period of the Italian Renaissance, and he must have found many kindred spirits in the Rome of Sixtus IV and the Florence of Lorenzo the Magnificent. About the end of the century Josquin des Prés returned to Paris to become a member of the Chapel of Louis XII. Sometime, however, either just before or after the accession to the throne of Francis I, he returned to Condé, where he died in 1521.

The works of Josquin des Prés have an important position in the history of music for several reasons. In the first place, they are great music. Secondly, they display to the student in an exceptionally graphic manner the technical progress of the fifteenth century. In the third place, they gather together and illustrate, in

¹¹ Burney, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 479.

¹² Neither place nor date is known positively. See Eitner, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, and Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Vol. III, p. 200.

the works of one man, all the most varied forms. Finally, they furnished both incentive and models to the men of the sixteenth century. Josquin des Prés was a giant to the musicians of the century following his death.

It is impossible for a historian to prove that the works of a man like Josquin are great music. This discussion must be content to point out qualities which appear in his music for the first time in the history of polyphonic writing.

The very nature of early polyphonic writing, as has been pointed out particularly in connection with Okeghem, was such as prohibited music functioning as an expressive medium. This is not the place to discuss in detail the musical qualities upon which expression depends; it is sufficient to indicate that the most important is the establishment of a definite and easily understood tonal center to which the whole musical fabric can refer. Such was the case with the modes as they functioned in connection with the plain song; consequently an element of expression was present in that type of ecclesiastical music. But until the time of Josquin polyphonic composers had not found a harmonic entity which could be substituted for the modal scale structure and range limitation. During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and particularly in the works of Josquin, the sense of harmonic propriety was almost completely established. That made it possible for polyphonic music to express the sense that was inherent in the words, especially when that music was written by a composer of such genius as Josquin's.

With the establishment of a tonal center through the newly awakened sense of harmonic propriety came a new understanding of the function of discord. The whole function of the discord now is that of creating an intense harmonic activity which makes imperative the eventual establishment of the tonal center. This most powerful of expressive devices Josquin uses for the first time with great effectiveness. In the motet "Absalon fili mi"¹³ which in its entirety is remarkably expressive, the following discords, which have their whole justification in the words, are to be found.

¹³ Wooldridge, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 77-83.

a

non vi -

Ab - sa - lon, non vi -

non vi - vam ul - - - - tra

non vi -

b

ul - tra

ul - - - -

ul - - - -

ul - - - -

c

in - fer - - - num plo - rans.

plo - - - - rans.

- num plo - - - rans.

plo - - - - rans.

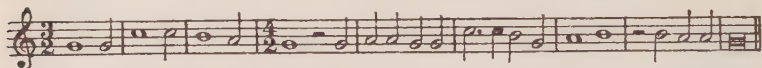
Josquin carried the technical work of Okeghem to still greater heights of subtlety. As a master of polyphonic device he has never been surpassed. Before illustrating this phase of his composition it is necessary to explain a procedure that was common among all the composers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Josquin's Methods

The fifteenth century saw the achievement of considerable freedom in the use of composed *canti firmi*. It was still very common, however, for composers to enshroud, in the fabric of their music, melodies which they themselves had not composed. Such is the

case in the Mass from which some of the illustrations of Josquin's style of composition are taken. The whole Mass makes use of and takes its name from an old French popular song, "L'homme armé," which serves not only as a subject of Josquin's Mass but was similarly used by composers from Dufay¹⁴ to the seventeenth century.

The melody of the old song is as follows: ¹⁵



Throughout the whole of Josquin's Mass this melody furnishes the thread around which the music is composed. No analysis of Josquin's method is better than that made by the historian Burney.¹⁶

"My first intention," writes Burney, "was only to transcribe from this collection two or three movements of Josquin's celebrated Mass upon the old tune, called 'L'homme armé,' as specimens of his style; but I was so drawn on and amused by the author's ingenious and curious contrivances, that I scored the whole Mass and several others, and regard them as the most subtle and elaborate productions that I have ever seen in this kind of writing."

Burney goes on to tell what he has been able to learn about the melody given above: "Nothing, however, has appeared to me more probable than that this is the famous 'Cantilena Rolandi,' or air to the song which the French *armed Champion* used to sing at the head of the army, in honor of their Hero Roland, in advancing to attack on the enemy."

Burney then proceeds with his analysis: "In the Sanctus, the soprano leads off the subject, in D Minor¹⁷ moving in breves and semibreves, accompanied by the tenor,¹⁸ in a free and airy melody: and, after six bars, the counter-tenor sings the theme, in F major, and in augmentation. . . ."

¹⁴ R. J. Kiesewetter, *History of the Modern Music of Western Europe*, gives a Kyrie of Dufay built around this song.

¹⁵ Quoted by Tinctoris in the *Proportionales musices*.

¹⁶ Burney, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 490-499.

¹⁷ Burney would have been closer to the truth had he said simply "on D" instead of "in D Minor." The concept of minor mode was unknown to Josquin.

¹⁸ Notice that the word *tenor* is here used in the modern sense.

What Burney has thus far described appears in notation as follows:

SANCTUS FROM THE MASS

"L'HOMME ARME"¹⁹

Josquin des Prés

"the soprano leads off with the subject, in D**, moving in breves and semi-breves"

Sanctus

"accompanied by the tenor in a free and airy melody"

Sanctus

(notice the sequences!)

Sanctus

b after six bars c

the counter tenor sings the theme, in F**,

and in augmentation

etc.

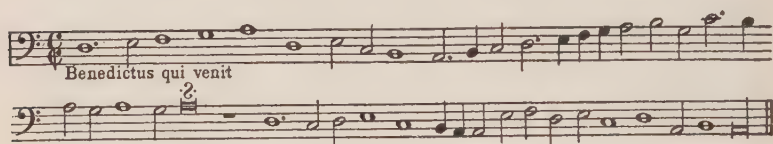
Sanctus

¹⁹ This *Sanctus* is given in its entirety by Wooldridge, *op. cit.*, Part II, pp. 70-74.

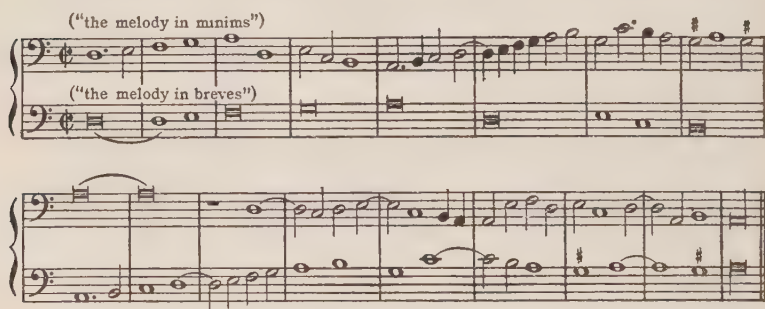
Burney continues: "The Osanna has many curious contrivances in *moto contrario*, *double counterpoint*, etc., in three parts, while a fourth is still singing 'L'homme armé.' In the next two movements 'Benedictus qui venit,' and 'In nomine,' by a curious species of contrivance, duos are formed by two parts singing the same intervals in different measures: that is, while one performs the melody in semibreves, the other sings it in minims, and *e contra*."

The following presents the Benedictus as it was given by Josquin. Notice that a time signature is given for each part:

DUO IN UNUM



The solution is as follows:



The device illustrated in this *Duo* was very popular with Josquin and his contemporaries, and was often applied to compositions of more than two voices.

The forms which interested Josquin present a cross section of both the sacred and secular music of the fifteenth century. His use of the motet has already been mentioned. In his hands this form became, next to the Mass, the most important vehicle for the composer's most serious work. Although in some details, such as the realization of the full value of points of imitation, Josquin's motets do not reach the formal perfection of his sixteenth-century

successors, it may nevertheless be said that they are great monuments of musical art. The fame of the motet "Absalon fili mi," of which portions have been cited in this chapter, lasted for two hundred years. The composition of new settings of the Ordinary of the Mass was, of course, the most important part of Josquin's activity as a composer. Thirty-two such Masses still exist in print and in manuscript in various European libraries.

The secular compositions of Josquin belong almost altogether in the class called *chansons* and, while constructed with a polyphonic technic equal in intricacy to that used in the Masses and motets, they were conceived in an unmistakably lighter and more lively manner. Particularly in the latter songs, the imitation seems to spring out of musical necessity instead of being dictated by the strict laws of counterpoint. In the secular part songs the spirit and method of the sixteenth-century madrigal is strongly forecast.

Contributions of Josquin

The whole contribution of Josquin may be summed up in a few sentences. He built his work upon what might be called the tendency to artificiality of his predecessors like Okeghem. He used the same technic, but he far surpassed them in its use. His works are monuments of artifice in the use of musical materials. But Josquin (and in fairness it must be said that men like Obrecht were not far behind him) created out of and upon this groundwork of polyphonic virtuosity a style which is clear, animated, and expressive. Josquin des Prés may be called, in all fairness, the first modern composer.

At the beginning of the century in which America was discovered music was a branch of mathematics. At the end of the century it had made astounding strides as an art. Music had been written which is not only interesting but satisfying to modern ears. Moreover, during the century the technic and spirit of men like Obrecht and des Prés had spread to all corners of Europe, so that the history of music during the sixteenth century must deal not only with developments in England and Flanders, but in France, Spain, Venice, Rome, and Germany.

The course of the development and spread of polyphony thus far should by now be clear. From the early and sudden brilliance of the early English Continental school headed by Dunstable; then from Dunstable to the Netherlands School led consecutively by Dufay, Okeghem, and des Prés, the steady growth is evident from generation to generation. The sixteenth century was destined to see the rich unfolding of choral polyphony, the full flowering of this plant whose roots reach into the past.

Readings

H. V. Hughes
J. F. R. Stainer
Edna R. Sollitt
C. Van den Borren

Early English Harmony
Dufay and His Contemporaries
From Dufay to Sweelinck
Guillaume Dufay

II

THE SPREAD OF THE NETHERLANDS TRADITION

Extramusical Influences: The Renaissance

THE ASTOUNDINGLY profuse musical activity of the sixteenth century cannot be explained altogether on the basis of the accomplishments of the composers of the preceding hundred years. Those accomplishments, to be sure, included both the technical mastery and expressive power of men like Josquin. But the momentum which made the sixteenth almost the most brilliant musical century came in no small part from extramusical influences. Those influences must be briefly mentioned.

The most important influence, of which all the others were

really byproducts, was the Renaissance. This great revival of arts and letters began in Italy with the works of such men as the writers Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), and the painters Giovanni Cimabue (1240?-1302?) and Giotto di Bondone (1276?-1337?). Before the end of the fourteenth century the new art and learning had spread over Italian civilization and had begun to take root in northern Europe. By the end of the fifteenth century the Renaissance had reached and passed its high point. Venice and Florence, under the Doges and Medicis, had become monuments to a great and inspiring age; the whole of western Europe had become the setting, with reawakened interest in art, letters, and scientific knowledge, for modern European civilization.

The Renaissance changed the whole structure of society in its relation to the arts. Music, which had been one of the seven arts of the medieval university, a mathematical science related to astronomy, now became one of the fine arts, related to poetry and the plastic arts. Musicians became important members of the households of cultured men, and as such found a much greater importance and artistic freedom. The ability both to appreciate and perform contemporary music gradually became a necessary part of the social equipment of all cultivated people; the consequent change in the status of the musician was revolutionary.

In Italy the temper of society, owing largely to the interest in the culture of antiquity, became pagan. All over Europe the rumblings of the Reformation lessened the power of the Church in every walk of life. The time was past when the Church could dictate to artists. Although musicians and artists of all kinds were willing to use their talents in the service of religion, all art, and particularly music, was rapidly secularized.

In this process of secularization musicians discovered anew the beauties of folk music. Particularly in Italy, folk song and folk dance exerted an important influence. As has been said before, no complete history of folk music can be written because its records are necessarily incomplete. But now and again conditions arise which make possible an enormous increase of interaction between folk art and cultivated art. The sixteenth century saw

such conditions, and the result of the meeting of the two separate artistic streams was epoch-making.

Invention also began to play an important part in the history of music. Printing, invented in the fifteenth century and applied with increasing rapidity to music during the sixteenth, particularly by Petrucci in Venice, made it possible for the works of composers to become known with comparative ease and rapidity far away from where they had been written. The overwhelming importance of this single factor cannot be overemphasized. Reproduction of important works no longer needed to be restricted to the laborious and often inaccurate penmanship of the copyist. Idiosyncrasies of notation gradually disappeared. Within a few weeks after its composition in Venice a work could be studied in London. Composers could stay at home and still build upon the discoveries of their contemporaries who were separated from them by the boundaries of several nations.

The Renaissance spirit, the Reformation, folk art, printing—all these, added to the enormous musical growth of the fifteenth century, presaged for the sixteenth century a musical art which could actually be, for the cultivated people of western Europe, a universal language.

The Demand for Flemish Musicians and the Formation of Schools

The most interesting feature of the first half of the sixteenth century was the spread of the technic and ideals of the Netherlands School to all corners of Europe and the process by which it was modified, in each locality, to form a new school. The demand in Italy, Spain, France, and Germany for musicians trained in the Netherlands School was, all through the sixteenth century, a tribute to the vitality and accomplishments of the members of that school. During the early years of the century pupils of Josquin were to be found in nearly all of the musical centers of Europe, and many musicians who were not actually his pupils were influenced by him.

Pupils and Contemporaries of Josquin

Alexander Agricola (1446?-1506) was of German origin but his music represents a strong Netherlands influence. He was active in Italy, France, and Spain. Agricola was also represented in Petrucci's earliest publications of music.

Heinrich Isaac (1450?-1517) was Flemish by birth, and trained in the great Netherlands tradition. His activity carried him to the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent in Florence and to many important German musical centers where as musician in the household of Emperor Maximilian he had a wide influence. His compositions appeared in the early printings of Petrucci and one of his most important works was the cycle of motets written for the Cathedral at Constance.

Jean Mouton was born early in the second half of the fifteenth century. He died at St. Quentin in 1522. He was one of the older generation of Josquin's pupils, and was master of the chapel of Louis XII. His importance to the present part of our story lies in the fact that he was one of the teachers of Adrian Willaert, whose name we shall meet again presently.

Elzear Genet, better known as Carpentras, from the town of his birth, was director at the Sistine Chapel in Rome from 1515-1521 under Leo X. He was a Fleming, trained in Josquin's school. Whether or not he was a pupil of Josquin is not known. His is not one of the great names of the time, but because we are at present tracing the dissemination of the northern technic, the fact that he was officially engaged in Rome makes him important.

François de Layolle, the details of whose life are almost unknown, spent a large part of his active life in Italy, particularly in Florence. An unauthenticated tradition has Layolle teaching music to Benvenuto Cellini. Layolle was an excellent musician whose works show the impress of Josquin's workmanship. He was one of the earliest Flemings to be attracted by the madrigal as a form of composition.

Nicholas Gombert was a composer whose works appeared with considerable frequency in the printed collections of the time. From 1530 until after 1543 he was active in the Royal Chapel at Madrid;

consequently he may be credited with having transported the northern tradition to Spain.

Jacques Clement or Clemens, known to his contemporaries as Clement non papa (Clement not the pope) was one of the outstanding immediate followers of Josquin. Very little of his life is known, but the dates 1475-1558 can be given with some show of accuracy. Historians cannot agree as to the places where he worked. There is no doubt, however, concerning the influence of his music; his works were to be found in printed collections from one end of Europe to the other.

Philippe Verdelot, a musician trained in Flanders, was active in Florence between 1530 and 1540, and was later a singer at St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice. Little else is known of him except the publication dates of the books in which his compositions first appeared. Verdelot was in Italy at about the same time as Layolle, and like him, was much interested in the madrigal.

Another important pupil of Josquin was Clement Janequin. Absolutely nothing definite is known of his life except that his works began to appear in printed collections of chansons as early as 1529, and continued to appear for thirty years. He is important as being one of the earliest members of a new French school which, as the sixteenth century progressed, grew out of the older Netherlands School. From the fact that his known compositions are all in secular forms, such as the chanson, it is to be supposed that the beginnings of the new French School owed much to the secular tradition.

New Musical Methods

Mouton, Genet, and Layolle reached their maturity as composers before the death of Josquin and consequently their works show, to a greater degree than those of any other of the group of composers under discussion, the influence of the older master. Several tendencies appear, however, which in the light of the later direction music was to take, are of enough importance to deserve mention. We have already seen that the principles which governed Josquin's work were the use of canonic imitation for

its structural value, and the use of intelligible harmonic progression both for its contribution to the purity of sound and for its value in relation to expression. The tendencies to be found in the works of the three composers just mentioned are changes not in these fundamental principles but in the details of their application.

The most marked tendency is the apparent desire to discover phrases, as subjects for imitation, which have a greater melodic value. With Josquin, the cleverness of the polyphonic devices had been most important, although melodic beauty was by no means absent. Now the emphasis began to be placed on the *quality* of the subject matter to which those devices were applied. As this criterion of melodic beauty began to make itself felt it spread to other aspects of composition. The value of such intricate imitative devices as function in Josquin's Mass "L'homme armé" became lessened, and they fell into disuse. A process of simplification in method had begun, toward the end that structural devices should in no manner interfere either with the purity and pleasantness of sound or with what was conceived to be the expressive aim.

Clement, Verdelot, Gombert, and Willaert show in their works the almost complete emancipation from the use of polyphonic device as an end in itself. Points of imitation often occur both at the beginning and in the body of their compositions, but their greatest value is as a means of displaying a beautiful phrase. Chordlike progressions appear with greater frequency; and the choice of chords shows an ever-increasing understanding of chord relationships. The voice parts are wrought with much greater attention to balance and their compositions constituted a vindication for the discarding of many of the old polyphonic formulas, and a clear signpost to the greater beauties of the immediate future.

In both France and Italy the pupils of Josquin found material for the foundation of a secular art making use of the new type of polyphony. The courts of Francis I and Henry II of France furnished opportunity for composers like Janequin, Certon, and Crecquillon to utilize the new means for secular purposes. The most important form in which this new movement found expression in France was the chanson. Its technic was very closely related

to that of the motet, but it was distinct in character, owing to the fact that now the aim of the composer was to mirror the sentiments of a poetry that was distinctly secular.

In Italy, in this connection, the madrigal is to be met again, destined to reach heights undreamed of by the composers who used the same word as a name for their folk-songlike compositions during the fourteenth century. Layolle, Verdelot, and Willaert, while in Italy, made some attempts to compose in the lighter forms which were descended from the Troubadour *ballate* and *canzonette*, but soon turned to the madrigal because it was, as a poetic form, more satisfactory for musical treatment. The meeting of the Flemish composer with the Italian poetic form was the signal for an immense new activity not only in Italy but throughout the whole of Europe.

The perfecting of the methods and forms, indeed the culmination of the whole great choral polyphonic movement, can be discussed only in connection with the later sixteenth-century schools which marked the immense musical activity of Flanders, France, England, Spain, Rome, and Venice. To them we must now give our attention.

Readings

Edna R. Sollitt
K. Ph. Bernet-Kempers

From Dufay to Sweelinck
Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine
Motetten

I2

THE NETHERLANDS, FRENCH, AND VENETIAN SCHOOLS: 1550-1600

The Netherlands School: In Flanders

IF THE existence of a school of composers depends upon the interplay of ideas that comes from close contact, there was no important Netherlands School after 1550. There was, on the other hand, a large group of composers who belonged by birth to Flanders, but who were, as was shown in the last chapter, active in foreign musical centers.

Cipriano da Rore and Jacob Arcadelt

Adrian Willaert, whose life extended twelve years into the second half of the sixteenth century, and who already has been discussed, really took the Netherlands School to Venice with him. Pupils came to him from Flanders and remained in Italy. The most important of these was Cipriano da Rore (really van Rore). Da Rore was born in 1516 in Flanders and died in 1565 after having spent almost his whole life in Venice. He was Willaert's immediate successor as chapelmaster at St. Mark's. He could hardly be called a member of the Netherlands School.

Jacob Arcadelt, on the other hand, after a stay of some fifteen years in Rome, returned to Paris, where he may at least be said to have carried on the tradition of the Netherlands composers. He was born in 1514 and died about 1570.

In France

The sixteenth-century French branch of the Netherlands School contained rather few important men compared with Flanders and Italy. Among them was Certon, chapelmaster of Sainte Chapelle, who died in 1572; Crecquillon, who died in 1557 and who was, toward the end of his life, chapelmaster to Charles V in Madrid; and, more important, Claude Goudimel, born in 1505 and victim of a Huguenot massacre at Lyons in 1572.

In Venice: Adrian Willaert

Messer Adriano (Master Adrian), as Adrian Willaert was known to his contemporaries and successors, was the most important musician in Europe after the death of Josquin. He was born at Bruges, sometime between 1480 and 1490 and died in 1562. He was a pupil of both Mouton and Josquin. In 1516 he went to Rome. From that year until 1527 little is known of his life, but there is reason to believe that he traveled widely, certainly to many of the important cities of Italy and perhaps to the courts of Bohemia and Hungary as well. In 1527 Willaert was appointed *Maestro da Cappella* (master of the chapel) at the Cathedral of St. Mark's in Venice. The chapel at that institution already had had a long and honorable history, extending back to the beginning of the fourteenth century,¹ and with the coming of Willaert was to enter its most brilliant period. In Venice Willaert attracted pupils from all over Europe, particularly from Italy and Flanders. He was really the founder of the Venetian School.

The foregoing short biographical list is by no means exhaustive, but by giving the most important names it does furnish a basis for discussing the music of the first half of the sixteenth century. The Netherlands tradition, transplanted to new schools particu-

¹ F. Caffi, *Storia della Musica sacra nella già Cappella Ducale di San Marco in Venezia*.

larly in France and Venice, produced musical changes which must now be examined.

Orlando Lasso

Orlando Lasso (Roland de Lattre) was the last great sixteenth-century composer who belonged to the Netherlands group. Because his biography is so characteristic that it presents a panorama of the musical life of the time, it deserves to be given in some detail, although the "facts" are legendary, since the documentation is so meager.

Lasso was born at Mons about the year 1530. During his early youth he was a member of the cathedral choir where he sang the music of the men who were then the great masters—Josquin des Prés, Obrecht, Mouton, and Willaert among others. The voice of the young singer brought him a dangerous amount of celebrity because it seems to have been customary for royalty to authorize the acquisition of fine voices for their chapels by theft. There is a tradition to the effect that Lasso was stolen two or three times; if such was the case, he at least seems to have made his way back to Mons with safety each time.

In 1544 Lasso went to Italy in the train of Ferdinand Gonzague, commander of the Netherlands army of Charles V, where his presence can be traced in Milan, Palermo, Naples, and Rome. He was, for a time before 1552, chapelmaster at the church of St. John Lateran at Rome. His movements between 1552, when he left Italy, and 1555, when he returned to Belgium and settled at Antwerp, are not known. He may have visited England. At any rate, he returned to his own country with an international reputation as both a musician and a cosmopolitan personality.

Duke Albert V of Bavaria, whose court was located at Munich, was anxious to make his musical establishment equal to any in Europe. At the suggestion of the Fuggers, the great Bavarian commercial family, he secured the services of Lasso in 1557. In 1562, after Lasso had mastered the German language, he became chapelmaster at the Bavarian court, a position which he retained throughout his life. He died in 1594.

The complete edition of the works of Lasso, as newly published by Breitkopf and Haertel, fill sixty large volumes. The immense number of compositions included in this edition show Lasso to have been not only a most prolific but a most cosmopolitan composer. He handled with equal ease the most varied styles, ranging from the light tunefulness of the French chanson to the polyphonic solidity of the mass. Lasso undoubtedly belongs among the two or three musical giants of the sixteenth century. His genius, the facility with which he mastered all the current forms and styles, places him above the schools of the time. Some understanding of the difference between the highly ornate polyphony of his *Missa ottavi toni*, the light, melodic straightforwardness of the French chanson "Mon cœur se recommande à vous," and the characteristic style of the madrigals "Echo," "Quand mon mari," and "Tu as tout seul" can be gained by a close study of the many recordings that have been made of these and other songs.

With Lasso, who, like most sixteenth-century Flemish musicians, spent almost his entire productive life away from his own country, the great Netherlands School came to an end. Its destiny had been fulfilled. Just as the invention, by the Van Eycks, of painting in oils had served as a technical foundation for generations of great Italian painters, so the invention of true polyphony bore fruit in the south. Intense musical activity did not stop in the Netherlands, but after Lasso the importance of greatness was no longer to be found there.

The French School

Except for the activity of a group of young men near the close of the century, an activity which properly belongs to the discussion of the seventeenth century, the French School has already been discussed. It contained, with the exception of Claude Goudimel, no great men.

The Venetian School

Some time before 1550 Italy became the continental center of musical activity. The papal choir, for nearly two centuries, had

attracted musicians to Rome because it was the fountainhead of religious music, but in the sixteenth century the northern heritage of Willaert, plus the influence of the secular trend and the fact that Venice was the center of music printing, placed that city at the apex of European musical activity.

After Willaert had died in 1562, his successor as director of the music at St. Mark's was Cipriano da Rore, who, in turn, was succeeded in 1565 by Gioseffo Zarlino. With Zarlino the Italians of the Venetian group completely replaced the Flemish masters who had preceded them, and the Venetian School consisted for the first time of Italian composers.

Gioseffo Zarlino

Zarlino was born on a small island in the Venetian lagoons in 1517. He received his whole training as a member of the St. Mark's chapel under Willaert. Most of his compositions, few of which were printed, have been lost. He is important in music history not because of his compositions, but because of his theoretical work. His three valuable works, the *Institutione harmoniche*, the *Dimostrazione harmoniche*, and the *Sopplimente musicale*, were the textbooks for several generations of musicians. His work included both the final theoretical legitimization of the troublesome third and the definition of the major triad as a definite musical entity. Zarlino continued as the honored leader of the Venetian School until his death in 1590.

Andrea Gabrieli

Most important among the immediate contemporaries of Zarlino was Andrea Gabrieli, who was also a pupil of Willaert. Gabrieli was a Venetian, born in 1510. Because he is the first composer we have met who was also a professional instrumentalist, and because his importance arises largely out of his instrumental compositions, his work will be discussed at greater length in a chapter devoted to the instrumental developments of the sixteenth century (Chapter 15). Andrea Gabrieli died in 1586.

Porta, Vecchi, Donato, Croce, Giovanni Gabrieli, and Gesualdo

The generation of composers who belonged to the north Italian or Venetian group, and whose lives and works formed the bridge into the seventeenth century, included Costanzo Porta, who died in 1601; Orazio Vecchi (1550-1605); Baldassare Donato (1548-1603), who succeeded Zarlino as chapelmaster at St. Mark's; Giovanni Croce (1560-1609) successor to Donato; and Giovanni Gabrieli (1557-1612), who was the nephew of Andrea and likewise an instrumentalist. One other important composer belonged to no school in fact, but his influence was strongly felt by the Venetians. This was Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa (1560-1614).

The Ecclesiastical Style

The Cathedral of St. Mark's at Venice was the only important church in Christendom which was built in the shape of a Greek instead of a Latin cross. With such a floor plan the transept divides the nave into two equal parts, thus making the normal position of choir and congregation impossible. As early as the fourteenth century this problem was solved by dividing the choir into two parts, stationed in low balconies on either end of the transept. An organ was placed with each choir.

The accident of shape in this church played, during the sixteenth century, a rather peculiar role in the advancement of music. Willaert discovered the striking effect that could be produced by having his choirs sing antiphonally. Imitation of one voice part by another was, certainly, nothing new. But the clarity of structure with which Willaert and his successors were able to manage it with a divided choir and two organs had two far-reaching results. In the first place, it gave a decided impetus to the investigation of the formal, structural possibilities of imitation, possibilities which, since the time of Josquin, had been pushed into the background. In the second place, it crystallized once and for

all what the Venetians called the *stilo ecclesiastico*, the ecclesiastical style.

Harmonic Changes

Harmonically, the old melodically conceived modes were beginning to crack under the strain of both the normal desire to achieve tonal variety by moving from one mode to another, and the chromaticism, as the use of *musica ficta* may now be called, of men like Cipriano da Rore and Carlo Gesualdo, which was becoming a more and more common feature of the music of the period. Glareanus, the Swiss theorist whose *Dodecachordon*² has already been mentioned,³ wrote his book with the express purpose of showing that instead of the eight modes which were commonly explained by the theorists there were actually twelve. He had added the Ionian and the Aeolian, with their related hypomodes. The two scales that correspond exactly to our C major and A minor were thus finally the "old-age offspring" of the modal system. Although the authentic cadence had been understood long since, the exact relationship of dominant triad to tonic triad was not fully understood. The fact was rapidly becoming apparent, however, that the final chord, in no matter what mode, was either major, like the final of the Ionian, or minor, like that of the Aeolian. When the implications of this were finally connected with the naturalness of melodic progression which was inherent in the Ionian and Aeolian modes (a step which had to wait for the next century), the modal system could be discarded.
















Rhythm and Notation

The conception and notation of rhythm were changing, during the sixteenth century, to a more rational basis. The whole system of mode, time, and prolation began to fall before the general acceptance of the "multiple-of-two" system. Notes came to have only one value, the duple, which could be changed to the triple

² Published 1543.

³ See Chapter 11.

by placing the "prick of perfection" after them. The "prick of perfection" or dot, was understood as being in reality a very small circle, the old sign of perfection in time and prolation. Only toward the very end of the century did the bar line come into use in connection with choral music, and its use was not universal until the eighteenth century. The generally accepted note forms for printed music, which owe their shapes to the northern or Gothic rather than to the southern or Roman influence, were as follows:

		MODERN EQUIVALENT
MAXIMA		none
LONG		none
BREVE		 
SEMIBREVE		 whole note
MINIM		 half note
CROTCHET (<i>Semiminim</i>)		 quarter note
QUAVER (<i>Croma</i>)		 eighth note
SEMIQUAVER (<i>SEMICROMA</i>)		 sixteenth note

Secular Music: The New Madrigal

We now turn to the *music* of the Venetian School. The religious music was, to a large degree, a continuation of the type set by the Netherlands masters, with some technical simplification. It was not the music composed in the ecclesiastical style that was responsible for the importance of the Venetians. For an understanding of that importance we must turn to their secular music, particularly the madrigal.

The polyphonic art which men like Willaert attempted to transplant into Italy was as essentially Gothic as the northern cathedral. Like that cathedral which was built in Milan but which was never really welcome there, Gothic music was too foreign to the Italian temperament to find ready acceptance. The secular music which

the Italians made for themselves, of which the *frottola*⁴ was characteristic, was of an altogether different genre. It may be said to have symbolized the revolt against the technical complication of Gothic art in favor of the melodic richness and harmonic simplicity which had always been characteristic of Italian music.

The charm of the *frottola* was immediately evident to the Flemish musicians. But they encountered difficulties when they attempted to emulate their Italian contemporaries. The first was with the poetry. The light and almost rustic quality of the poetry which was characteristic of the *frottola* soon gave way to the more dignified but still popular madrigal verse. The Flemings, too, could simplify their technic, but they were too well trained to give it up altogether. Consequently, the new part songs retained to some extent the fundamental polyphonic technical devices.

This new secular form, then, which took its name from the poetry it used, retained qualities of both the *frottola* of the south and the motet of the north. It was the basis of a new secular style which the Venetians called the *stilo madrigalesco* in contrast to the *stilo ecclesiastico*. Its popularity was so immediate, and its growth so rapid, that within fifty years after its invention no composer's training was complete until he had mastered both styles.

The earliest madrigals were the products of Willaert and the Flemish pupils who followed him to Venice. Their methods can be illustrated by a fragment of a madrigal by Arcadelt. The music follows quite closely the meter of the poem, and the melodic forms are straightforward and attractive. Polyphonic embellishment is limited to occasional points of imitation and ornamental cadences. The melody is in the upper voice. The simple chordlike progression of the first phrase ends on a cadence which is embellished by suspensions and a turn around the C#. The second phrase sets off in the next to the bottom voice, before the other voices have finished the cadence, with a subject which immediately is imitated by the other voices. The simplicity of this point of imitation is in striking contrast to the fourteenth-century contrapuntal devices, and illustrates the clarity of texture which became a fundamental part of the madrigal style.

⁴ The word *frottola* is a synonym for joke, and denoted a street song usually boisterously comic or sentimental in character.

MADRIGAL: SE LA DÜREZZA⁵

Arcadelt
ornamental cadence

Se la du - rezz' in voi fos - se men du - ra,

Se la du - rezz' in voi fos - se men du -

Se la du - rezz' in voi fos - se men du - ra, Se

Se la du - rezz' in voi fos - se men du - ra,

point of imitation

Se bel - la se - te com' ogn' al - tra bel -

ra, Se bel - la se - te com' ogn' etc.

bel - la se - te com' ogn' al - - - tra

Se bel - la se - te com' ogn' al - - - tra

Madrigalism

As the century moved toward its close, the madrigal won an overwhelming popularity from composer and layman alike. Every possible device which could add to its attractiveness was employed. The most characteristic of these was the so-called "madrigalism." Mr. Henry Prunières' description of it both with regard to method and realization is so acute that it is given here in full.

The composer does not aim only at transposing into appropriate melody and harmony the prevailing atmosphere of

⁵ Wooldridge, *The Polyphonic Period*, Part II, pp. 124-126, gives this madrigal in its entirety.

the short poem; he endeavors to paraphrase minutely its ideas and its very language. Long festoons of thirds weave themselves about the "chains of love"; sighs are transplanted by pauses and breaks in the melody; the idea of duration, of immobility, is expressed by the holding of a single voice, the others carrying on their parts relentlessly. The voices rise on the words "heaven," "heights," "ascension"; they fall on the words "earth," "sea," "abyss," "hell." The notes scatter in silvery groups around the words "laughter," "joyous," "gay." Finally "martyrdom," "sadness," "pain," "cruelty," "tears" are expressed by audacious discords and unexpected modulations. This preoccupation with literal translation, with the exact rendering of detail, is peculiar to the new style, and . . . finally created a vast repertory of musical commonplaces on which composers drew unsparingly.⁶

The madrigalism was one of the very important devices by which sixteenth-century composers advanced toward greater freedom in the handling of musical materials, and as such its importance was inestimable.

Sixteenth-century Venice furnished the atmosphere for much of the italianization of the northern methods and technics. The whole tradition, with all its northern and southern elements, had such tremendous vitality that the story of its development is only partial until it has been traced in Rome and in England.

Readings

Henry Prunières
Edna R. Sollitt
Otto J. Gombosi
K. Ph. Bernet-Kempers

Monteverdi
From Dufay to Sweelinck
Jacob Obrecht
Jacobus Clemens non Papa und seine
Motetten

Cecil Gray and Philip
Heseltine

Carlo Gesualdo

⁶ Henry Prunières, *Monteverdi*, pp. 28-29.

HISPANO-ROMAN, GERMAN, AND ENGLISH SCHOOLS

A SMALL but select group of composers centered their activities in Rome. Some of them belonged strictly to a Roman school; others came from distant parts of Europe to remain in Rome for most of their mature periods. Of this last group, two composers who came to Rome from Spain, and who are usually said to constitute a Spanish school, were of great importance. They were Cristobal Morales and Tomas Luis da Vittoria.

Cristobal Morales

Morales came to Rome in 1540 as a singer in the papal chapel. Little is known of his activities aside from the publication dates of his works. He wrote only sacred music, Masses and motets, and was one of the few composers who refused to ally himself with the secular movement of which the madrigal was so characteristic. "The art of Morales," writes Cecil Gray,¹ "is perhaps less directly moving than that of most of his compatriots, and has in it something of the ceremonious stiffness and solemn, courtly demeanor of a Spanish grandee; nevertheless this somewhat forbidding aspect conceals a vein of somber and passionate intensity which is often exceedingly compelling and impressive." It might be added that the importance of a composer like Morales is due to the fact that he was able to maintain a vigorous polyphonic style, tinged with the color of his own nationality, against the

¹ Cecil Gray, *The History of Music*, p. 81.

onslaughts of secularism. Music still had a religious function, and that Morales' music was not only entirely fitting but actually great is shown by the fact that it still forms a part of the repertoire of the papal choir.

Tomas Luis da Vittoria

Vittoria, a generation younger than Morales, was born about 1540. He seems to have spent many of his mature years in Rome. Sometime during the last quarter of the century he returned to Spain, where he died in 1613. Vittoria has been called the priest who happened to be also a musician. That accounts for his emphatic refusal to write secular music. In the preface to a book of his hymns, published in 1581, he wrote: "Many evil and depraved men abuse music as an excitant in order to plunge into earthly delights, instead of raising themselves by means of it to the contemplation of God and of divine things. . . . The art of song should be entirely devoted to the aim and end for which it was originally intended, namely, to the praise and glory of God."²

The racial qualities which made Spain more congenial than Venice for an artist like El Greco are clearly discernible in the music of Vittoria. The famous "Ave Maria," which is available in modern editions, is characteristic of the fervid intensity which the Spanish musician was able to achieve.

The Roman School: Costanzo Festa and Luca Marenzio

This short account of Morales and Vittoria has been necessary to indicate a fundamental aspect of the temper of the Roman school, in the formation of which they had no small part. It must not be supposed, however, that the Spaniards contributed all of the elements which went into the great Roman musical "melting pot."

Costanzo Festa, who, from 1517 until his death in 1545 had been a member of the papal chapel, was one of the most en-

² *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

thusiastic of the early madrigal composers. He had been instrumental in developing a method for the secular form which was distinctly Roman and actually closer to the final perfect madrigal than were the first madrigals of the Venetians. The reason for this is that while the Venetians were concerned with an oversimplification of their technic in an attempt to imitate the style of the *frottola*, Festa was making a greater use of the figured counterpoint, if not the grave style, which was characteristic of the motet. During the second half of the sixteenth century Luca Marenzio, who died in 1599, was one of the most important madrigalists in the whole of Italy. His works show him to have had a better grasp than any other Italian composer of the chord relations and chromatic usages which were, during the seventeenth century, to change the whole understanding of harmony from a modal to a tonal basis.

Palestrina's Heritage

The Roman school was truly cosmopolitan, but in a city in which the Church and churchmen dominated. The severity of the Spanish single-mindedness was not shared by the men who were the enthusiastic patrons of Michelangelo and Benvenuto Cellini, but it is significant that when the whole future of religious music was at stake at the Council of Trent, the Spanish singers of the Chapel were sent to represent and plead for contemporary art. The great musician in such an environment would be representative if he combined the inherited Flemish technic with the Spanish devoutness and the Italian tendency toward lyricism. Such a man was Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, the outstanding representative of the Roman school and without doubt the greatest composer of the sixteenth century.

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina

Palestrina took his name from the small town near Rome where he was born about 1526. As a boy he went to Rome, where he mastered the superlative polyphonic technic which could be learned

from the Flemings who occupied positions of importance there. With the exception of a comparatively short period of service in the cathedral at his birthplace, the whole of Palestrina's life was spent in Rome, where he held many important posts, finally becoming master of the Sistine Chapel.

With the exception of four books of madrigals, Palestrina's works are all confined to the ordinary forms of religious music, the Mass, motet, and hymn. In the great complete edition published in the nineteenth century there are more than ninety Masses and over five hundred motets. The *Improperia* have formed part of the Good Friday service in the Sistine Chapel since 1560, and for well over three hundred years his music has been looked upon as a supreme expression of the Catholic faith.

During his own lifetime Palestrina achieved more than ordinary recognition. The story of his connection with the Council of Trent has been told and retold until it has become almost a myth. As given by Baini, the first important biographer of Palestrina, it probably has very little foundation in fact. It is true, however, that when the renovating activity of the Council finally reached the problem of liturgical music, there was danger that it would go even farther than Pope John XXII had gone in 1324 in banning the works of contemporary composers from the Church. The matter was finally left, in large part, undecided. With injunctions against elements which were "lascivious or impure" the Council turned the whole question over to the local synods. In 1564 Pius IV brought the matter before the cardinals, who decreed that the Latin text must be used exclusively and with respect; then the pope pointed out one of Palestrina's works, the *Mass of Pope Marcellus*, as a model in its combination of text and polyphonic musical treatment. In 1576 Gregory XII asked Palestrina to undertake a complete revision of the plain song. The impossibility that one man could bring any such work to a satisfactory completion is more obvious to us now than it was then. The assignment indicated, however, the respect with which Palestrina was regarded by the high officials of the Church.

The Contribution of the Roman School

We have seen that the members of the Venetian School were musical progressives, ever intent upon expanding the possibilities of musical art. Such was not the case with men of the stamp of Vittoria and Palestrina. They were interested only in exploiting the whole art, as they found it, in the service of religion. Choral polyphony, as it was applied to the secular madrigal, produced problems the solutions of which were not possible in the sixteenth century. Beautiful and lasting as much of the madrigal music certainly was, secular music was too new to reach more than a temporary climax in the madrigal and its allied forms. Sixteenth-century choral polyphony was, on the other hand, the solution of all the problems with which church musicians had struggled for five hundred years and as such was the final perfection of musical method and expressive means as they could be applied to religious music. It remained only for a school of great composers to crystallize in a body of great music the full achievement of the long process of development. This function was fulfilled by the Roman School between 1550 and 1600, and particularly by Palestrina.

It serves very little purpose to examine Palestrina's work for indications of future musical growth. His interest was bound to the past, as that past could aid him in expressing with perfection of technic and clarity of purpose the age-old mystery and dogma of the Church. Because he was successful he marks the apex of choral polyphony. After him, nothing more was possible in that direction. From the mountain top on which Palestrina stood, every path led downward. If there were higher peaks beyond the horizon, they could only be reached by first making a descent into the valley.

The Influence of the Reformation

Thus far the account of sixteenth-century musical development has shown only indirect influences of the Reformation. The passionate fervor of the Spaniards may perhaps have been one aspect

of the Spanish reaction to the almost universal dissatisfaction with Rome which took the form of the Inquisition. Certainly whatever influence the Council of Trent exerted toward the purification of religious music within the Church was an indirect result of the Reformation; perhaps the secular growth centering in Venice was due to some extent to the fact that the spirit back of the Reformation was abroad. To credit all these trends directly to the Reformation, however, is to stretch the thesis of this section farther than is either true or necessary. The Reformation did have a most fundamental effect on the course of musical development in at least two parts of Europe. England, owing in part to the influence of a new faith, was to see during the reigns of Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth the most brilliant period of her whole musical history; and Germany, as a direct accompaniment to her religious revolt, was to lay the foundations for her later musical edifice.

Germany

The Reformation changed not only the religious beliefs of northern Europe but the outward forms of public worship. The great body of musical literature, including its forms, method, and content, which was bound so intimately to the doctrines of Rome, was necessarily sacrificed in whole or in part. In attempting to replace the liturgy, the leaders of the Reformation had two fundamental aims in view. These reproduced in striking similarity the conditions which were discussed in connection with the Church of the Apostolic Era. The language of religion was to be the language of the congregation, and the musical part of the service was to be entered into by the worshipers. These two aims were the direct cause of a new musical tradition, the modifying influence of which was a powerful factor in shaping the development of music in England and northern Germany.

The part of Germany north of Bavaria had, properly speaking, no school of musical composition either before or during the sixteenth century. But the musical aspect of the work of Martin Luther and his followers had, for the future, an influence similar

to that which would have been exerted by a strong and revolutionary school of composition.

The Lutheran Choral

The core of Lutheran music is the choral. The earliest Lutheran chorals were probably written by Luther himself, but they have a folk-hymn quality which relates them to more ancient German music. The famous "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" is so characteristic that it is given here for study. It was written by Luther and sung by him at his entrance into the city of Worms in 1521.

EIN FESTE BURG

Martin Luther



Ein. fes.-te Burg ist un-ser Gott, Ein gu - te Wehr und Waf - fen
 Er hilft uns frey aus al - ler Noth Die uns jetzt hat be - trof - en
 Der al - te bö - - se Feind, mit Ernst ers jetzt meint grosz Macht und viel
 List, Sein. grau-sam Rüst-ung ist Auf Erd'n ist nicht sein's gleich - en

The solid, even stolid character of this choral was imitated in thousands of others until Germany and Scandinavia were as familiar with the choral as Italy was with the plain song. The musical tradition to which it gave extraordinary impetus not only during the sixteenth but in later centuries, was to be a fundamental part of German music.

Johann Walther (1496-1570) and Martin Agricola (1486-1556) were important as early Lutheran musicians. Walther was called to Wittenberg by Luther in 1524 to aid in the work of developing the Lutheran Mass. His *Geystlich Gesangk-Buchlein* (1524) was the earliest Lutheran song book.

England

In England the influence of the Reformation on musical development was by no means as simple as it was in Germany. English music was already showing the remarkable increase in vitality which always accompanies the development of a new school. The influences of the Reformation changed the course of that development, but they did not, as was the case in Germany, establish a new tradition.

With the death of Dunstable in 1453 English music and musicians ceased, for almost a hundred years, to be of any great importance. The historian of English music can trace from one generation to another the musical activities of court, cathedral, and college musicians, but the chief thing worthy of note is the gradual infiltration and adoption of Flemish methods. With John Taverner (1495?-1545), Christopher Tye (?-1572), and particularly Thomas Tallis (1505?-1585), the English school again began to be prominent. The old English method had given way almost entirely to the Continental methods.

The Effect of the Break with Rome

Tye and Tallis were the leaders of the English school when the break with Rome was effected. As musicians who had been composing in the forms of the Catholic service, the characteristic Masses and motets, they were faced with a change which must have been revolutionary. The whole service of public worship had to be made over. No longer could they write what their artistic training had prepared them to express. Not only that, but their positions in the chapel of Henry VIII made it necessary for them to be pioneers in the composition of music for the new services. The fact that they succeeded amazingly well under the regulations which restricted them to the utmost simplicity of musical means is of lasting credit to the vitality of English music.

The whole effect of the English Reformation cannot be observed in the works of Tye and Tallis. They were willing to stop

writing, for the Church at least, the ornate motets and Masses and turn to the simple offertories and anthems which were suitable to the English Rite. But it was not characteristic of a nation in which music was as popular as it was in the England of Shakespeare's century³ to cease to encourage the best music possible. Composers continued to write motets, not for the Church but for private secular performance. The secular motet, as a type of chamber music, thus gave composers an outlet for the methods and technic which had been forbidden in the Church. Until the madrigal attracted English poets and musicians the motet served the very important function of keeping alive the fundamental elements of polyphonic method which were to be used so felicitously in the madrigal. For it must be remembered that the papal choir, which in the sixteenth century was the center of the polyphonic tradition, was now closed to English musicians.

The English Madrigal

When the madrigal was first brought to England, it found there the poets and musicians necessary to its propagation. It found, too, a music that had been forcibly secularized by the limitations placed upon it by the Reformation. The great English Madrigal School made the England of Elizabeth's reign (1558-1603) the most brilliant musical center of Europe. Tye, Tallis, and Richard Edwards (1523-1566) were still alive. The younger composers were legion. Works of William Byrd (1543-1623), Thomas Morley (1557-1602), John Bull (1563-1628), John Wilbye (1573-?), Thomas Weelkes (1573?-1623?), Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) and many others,⁴ rank with the best of Lasso, Palestrina, and Marenzio. Although the individual "sets" of madrigals of Byrd, Morley, Weelkes, and Gibbons contained

³ This popularity can be illustrated by the fact that Henry VI, Henry VIII, and Anne Boleyn were composers, and Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth all had something of their father's interest in music.

⁴ Names may be added to this list almost *ad infinitum*: Farmer, Bennet, Kerby, Batison, Ward, East, Norcome, Mundy, Hilton, Marson, Carleton, Tomkins, Cavendish, Cobbold, Dowland, Hunt, Milton (the father of the great poet), Jones, Lisby, Johnson, Pilkington, etc.

the best productions of the time, the *Triumphs of Oriana*, containing twenty-five madrigals by twenty-three "divers authors," and published in 1601 in honor of Queen Elizabeth, may be given as marking the high point of the period.

It is beyond the scope of this history to analyze in detail the works of the English madrigalists. Any amount of study and performance of the hundreds of extant examples of this music will be well repaid, however, in increased and sympathetic understanding of the period. The madrigals are, with the exception of a certain slight roughness of harmonic relationship, distinctly modern music. The characteristic "madrigalisms" which were described in connection with the Venetian School are evident in the works of the English composers, and they are to be understood as the madrigalist's attempts to achieve a close relationship between music and text. The literature of secular part song contains no finer music than that contributed by Elizabethan England.

The Plaine and Easy Introduction to Practicall Music

The picture of the madrigal period in England would not be complete without some reference to the interesting textbook of Thomas Morley, the *Plaine and Easy Introduction to Practicall Music* (1597). It was written for a type of musician who is to be met for the first time in the sixteenth century, the amateur. It shows, in the Introduction quoted below, the extraordinary interest in music which caused not only the book, but the madrigals themselves, to be written.

POLYMATHES. Staye brother Philomathes, what haste? Whither go you so fast?

PHILOMATH. To seek out an old friend of mine.

POL. But before you goe I praie you repeat some of the discourses which you had yesternight at Master Sophobulus his banket, for commonly he is not without both wise and learned gwestes.

PHI. It is true indeed, and yesternight there were a number of excellent schollers, both gentlemen and others: but all the purpose which was then discoursed upon was musicke.

POL. I trust you were contented to suffer others to speak of that matter.

PHI. I would that had been the worst; for I was compelled to discover mine own ignorance, and confesse that I knewe nothing at all in it.

POL. How so?

PHI. Among the rest of the guesstes by chance Master Amphron came thither also, who falling to discourse of musicke, was in an argument so quickly taken up and hotly pursued by Eudoxus and Calergus, two kinsmen of master Sophobulus, as in his own art he was overthrowne, but he still sticking in his opinion, the two gentlemen requested me to examine his reasons and confute them, but I refusing, and pretending ignorance, the whole company condemned me of discourtesie, being fully persuaded that I had been as skilfull in that art as they took me to be learned in others; but supper being ended, and musicke bookes according to the custome, being brought to the table, the mistress of the house presented me with a part, earnestly requesting me to sing, but when, after many excuses I protested unfeignedly that I could not, everie one began to wonder, yea some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up so; so that upon shame of mine own ignorance, I goe now to seek out mine old friend Master Gnorimus, to make myself his schollar.

POL. I am glad you are at length come to be of that mind, though I wished it sooner, therefore goe, and I praie God send you such good successe as you would wish to yourself; as for me, I goe to heare some mathematical lectures, so that I thinke about one time wee may both meete at our lodging.

PHI. Farewell, for I sit upon thornes till I be gone, therefore I will make haste; but, if I be not deceived, I see him whom I seeke sitting at yonder doore, out of doubt it is hee, and it should seeme he studieth upon some point of musicke, but I will drive him out of his dumpe. Good Morrow, Sir.

MASTER. And you also good Master Philomathes, I am glad to see you, seeing it is so long ago since I sawe you, that I thought you had either been dead, or then had vowed per-

petually to keep your chamber and booke to which you were so much addicted.

PHI. Indeed I have been well affected to my booke, but how have you done since first I saw you?

MAST. My health since you saw mee hath been so badd as, if it had been the pleasure of him who made all things, to have taken me out of the world I should have been very well contented, and have wished it more than once: but what business hath driven you to this end of the town?

PHI. My errand is to you, to make myself your schollar; and seeing I have found you at such convenient leisure, I am determind not to depart till I have one lesson in musicke.

MAST. You tell me a wonder, for I have heard you so much speake against that art, as to terme it a corrupter of good manners, and an allurement to vices, for which many of your companions termed you a Stoic.

PHI. It is true, but I am so far changed, as of a Stoic I would willingly make a Pythagorean; and for that I am impatient of delay I praie you begin even now.

MAST. With a good will; but have you learned nothing at all in musicke before?

PHI. Nothing. Therefore I pray you begin at the very beginning, and teach me as though I were a childe.

MAST. I will do so, and therefore behold here is the scale of musicke which we terme the Gam. [*Giving him the gamut with the syllables.*]

The End of the Golden Age

The madrigal period ended almost as abruptly as it had begun. With the exceptions of some few anthems which had been published in collections of religious music, the music of the great Elizabethans was actually forgotten within a comparatively short time. Even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century an English historian discussing this period felt perfectly justified in writing, "As a loss to our curiosity, rather than our taste, we have to regret, that the remains of our *secular* music are very

limited. Of songs, ballads, and other compositions dedicated to public and private amusement, there must have been an abundance; but their subjects were too temporary, and their texture too slight, to survive the age in which they were produced. Though printing gave them circulation, they had no permanent registers, like those provided for the compositions of the Church; and the lays of each year giving place to those of the next, were successively produced, and successively laid aside and forgotten.”⁵ The lack of interest to which Busby gives expression has since been remedied; and an examination of the music in question will show how badly conceived are his reasons for its disappearance.

Under James I, who reigned 1603-1625, the whole temper of English life began to change in the direction of Puritanism. When the Reformation turned into Puritanism music was virtually an outlaw art. By the time of the Restoration not only was the actual music of the Elizabethans forgotten, but its methods were no longer understood.

Thus far the discussion of sixteenth-century music has been confined to the choral aspects of the art. Such a story should make clear the main lines of the development of polyphony to its apex, but it gives, nevertheless, an incomplete picture. To complete the picture the history of instrumental music must be brought up to date and then exhibited in conjunction with the choral music. We turn back, then, to trace the growth of the instruments which played such an important part in sixteenth-century music.

Readings

W. H. Gratton Flood
W. Chappell
Edmund H. Fellows

Early Tudor Composers
Popular Music of the Olden Time
The English Madrigal
The English Madrigal Composers
English Madrigal Verse
William Byrd
Orlando Gibbons
Madrigal Singing
Shakespeare and Music

C. Kennedy Scott
Edward W. Naylor

⁵ Thomas Busby, *A General History of Music*, Vol. I, pp. 496-497.

Louis C. Elson	<i>Shakespeare in Music</i>
Peter Warlock	<i>The English Ayre</i>
Cecil Gray and Philip Heseltine	<i>Carlo Gesualdo</i>
Henry Hadow	<i>William Byrd</i>
Z. K. Pyne	<i>Palestrina</i>
Knud Jeppeson	<i>The Style of Palestrina</i>
Carl Van Vechten	<i>The Music of Spain</i>
J. B. Trend	<i>The Music of Spanish History to 1600</i>
R. O. Morris	<i>Contrapuntal Technic of the XVIth Century</i>
Jeffrey Pulver	<i>A Biographical Dictionary of Old Eng- lish Music</i>
	<i>A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments</i>
Michel Brenet	<i>Palestrina</i>
Henry Expert	<i>Orlande de Lassus</i>
C. Van den Borren	<i>Orlande de Lassus</i>

Part Four: Instruments and Instrumental Music

PROLOGUE:

LIFE IN THE HIGH RENAISSANCE

BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE was a gentleman in the court of Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, for some years during the first half of the sixteenth century. He had been educated at Milan, was a soldier as a young man, visited London in a diplomatic capacity, wrote poetry in both Latin and Italian, and in general represented the highest culture of his time. Between 1508 and 1516 he wrote the book which made him the authority on etiquette for his time, *The Courtier* (*Il Cortegiano*). Its earliest translation into English was made by Thomas Hoby in 1561. Samuel Johnson, in Boswell's words, said of it: "The best book that ever was written upon good breeding. . . ."

Castiglione's remarks concerning the cultivation of music by his ideal gentleman may well serve as our introduction to another phase of the music of the sixteenth century.

" . . . the manner of all the gentlemen in the house was immediately after supper to assemble where the Duchess was. Where, among other recreations, music and dancing, which they used continually, sometimes they propounded

feat questions, otherwise they invented certain witty sports and pastimes, at the device sometime of one, sometime of another, in the which, under sundry coverts, often the standers-by opened subtly their imaginations unto whom they thought best.

“And the Count beginning afresh: ‘My Lords,’ quoth he, ‘you must think I am not pleased with the Courtier if he be not also a musician, and, beside his understanding and cunning upon the book, have skill in like manner on sundry instruments. For if we weigh it well, there is no ease of the labors and medicines of feeble minds to be found more honest and more praiseworthy in time of leisure than it. And principally in courts, where, beside the refreshing of vexations that music bringeth unto each man, many things are taken in hand to please women withal, whose tender and soft breasts are soon pierced with melody and filled with sweetness. Therefore no marvel that in the old time and nowadays they have always been inclined to musicians, and counted this a most acceptable food of the mind.’

“Then the Lord Gaspar: ‘I believe music,’ quoth he, ‘together with many other vanities, is meet for women, and peradventure for some also that have the likeness of men, but not for them that be men indeed, who ought not with such delicacies to womanish their minds and bring themselves in that sort to dread death.’

“‘Speak it not,’ answered the Count. ‘For I shall enter into a large sea of the praise of music, and call to rehearsal how much it hath always been renowned among them of old time, and counted a holy matter; and how it hath been the opinion of most wise philosophers that the world is made of music, and the heavens in their moving

make a melody, and our soul framed after the very same sort, and therefore lifteth up itself and, as it were, reviveth the virtues and force of it with music; wherefore it is written that Alexander was sometime so fervently stirred with it, that, in a manner, against his will he was forced to arise from banquets and run to weapon; afterward the musician changing the stroke and his manner of tune, pacified himself again and returned from weapon to banqueting. And I shall tell you that grave Socrates, when he was well stricken in years, learned to play upon the harp. And I remember I have understood that Plato and Aristotle will have a man that is well brought up to be also a musician; and declare with infinite reasons the force of music to be very great purpose in us, and for many causes, that should be too long to childhood, not only for the superficial melody that is heard, but to be sufficient to bring into us a new habit that is good, and a custom inclining to virtue, which maketh the mind more apt to the conceiving of felicity, even as bodily exercise maketh the body more lusty, and not only hurteth not civil matters and warlike affairs, but is a great stay to them.'

"Also Lycurgus in his sharp laws allowed music. And it is read that the Lacedemons, which were valiant in arms, and the Cretenses used harps and other soft instruments; and many most excellent captains of old time, as Epaminondas, gave themselves to music; and such as had not a sight in it, as Themistocles, were a great deal the less set by. Have you not read that among the first instruction which the good old man Chiron taught Achilles in his tender age, whom he had brought up from his nurse and cradle, music was one? And the wise master would have those hands that should shed so much Trojan blood, to be

oftentimes occupied in playing upon the harp? What soldier is there, therefore, that will think it a shame to follow Achilles, omitting many other famous captains that I could allege? Do you not then deprive our Courtier of music, which doth not only make sweet the minds of men, but also many times wild beasts tame; and whoso savoreth it not, a man may assuredly think him not to be well in his wits. Behold, I pray you, what force it hath, that in time past allured a fish to suffer a man to ride upon him through the tempestuous sea. We may see it used in the holy temples to render laud and thanks unto God, and it is a credible matter that it is acceptable unto Him, and that He hath given it unto us for a most sweet lightening of our travails and vexations. So that many times the boisterous laborers in the fields, in the heat of the sun, beguile their pain with rude and carterlike singing. With this the unmannerly countrywoman, that ariseth before day out of her sleep to spin and card, defendeth herself and maketh her labor pleasant. This is the most sweet pastime after rain, wind, and tempest unto the miserable mariners. With this do the weary pilgrims comfort themselves in their troublesome and long voyages. And oftentimes prisoners in adversity, in fetters, and in stocks. In like manner for a greater proof that the tunableness of music though it be but rude, is a very great refreshing of all worldly pains and griefs, a man would judge that nature hath taught it unto nurses for a special remedy to the continual wailings of sucking babes, which at the sound of their voice fall into a quiet and sweet sleep, forgetting the tears that are so proper to them, and given us of nature in that age for a guess of the rest of our lives to come.'

"Therefore let our Courtier come to show his music as

a thing to pass the time withal, and as he were enforced to do it, and not in the presence of noble men, nor of any great multitude. And for all he be skilful and doth well understand it, yet will I have him to dissemble the study and pains that a man must needs take in all things that are well done. And let him make semblant that he esteemeth but little in himself that quality, but in doing it excellently well make it much esteemed of other men.'

"Then said the Lord Gaspar Pallavicino: 'There are many sorts of music, as well in the breast as upon instruments, therefore would I gladly learn which is the best, and at what time the Courtier ought to practise it.'

"'Methink,' answered Sir Federico, 'part-song is a fair music, so it be done upon the book surely and after a good sort. But to sing to the lute is much better, because all the sweetness consisteth in one alone, and a man is much more heedful and understandeth better the feat manner and the air of vein of it, when the ears are not busied in hearing any more than one voice; and, beside, every little error is soon perceived; which happeneth not in singing with company, for one beareth out another. But singing to the lute with the ditty, methink, is more pleasant than the rest, for it addeth to the words such a grace and strength that it is a great wonder. Also all instruments with frets are full of harmony, because the tunes of them are very perfect, and with ease a man may do many things upon them that fill the mind with the sweetness of music. And the music of a set of viols doth no less delight a man, for it is very sweet and artificial. A man's breast giveth a great ornament and grace to all these instruments, in the which I will have it sufficient that our Courtier have an understanding. Yet the more cunninger he is upon them, the better it is for him,

without meddling much with the instruments that Minerva and Alcibiades refused, because it seemeth they are noisome. Now as touching the time and season when these sorts of music are to be practised: I believe at all times when a man is in familiar and loving company, having nothing else to do. But especially they are meet to be practised in the presence of women, because those sights sweeten the minds of the hearers, and make them the more apt to quicken the spirits of the very doers. I am well pleased, as I have said, they flee the multitude, and especially of the unnoble. But the seasoning of the whole must be discretion, because in effect it were a matter impossible to imagine all cases that fall. And if the Courtier be a righteous judge of himself, he shall apply himself well enough to the time, and shall discern when the hearers' minds are disposed to give ear and when they are not.'

"'. . . And therefore, in mine opinion, as music, sports, pastimes, and other pleasant fashions are, as a man would say, the flower of courtliness, even so is the training and the helping forward of the prince to goodness and the fearing him from evil, the fruit of it.'"

14

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE INSTRUMENTS

The Instrumental Tradition

MEDIEVAL Europe possessed musical instruments of every type, some indigenous and some imported. It has already been indicated that some stringed instruments may have come via Spain from the Moors. The monochord was a remnant of Greek music. The organ appeared before or during the eighth century from the Byzantine East. The bowed stringed instruments may have originated among the Goths or they may have come from the Orient, or both. Wind instruments blown with reed, cupped mouthpiece, or fipple, from rudimentary whistles to the popular bagpipe, were to be found at every hand. References to musical instruments are common in the chronicles of the times. Manuscript illuminations and cathedral sculptural decorations depict instruments and performers. With so much evidence a fairly accurate picture of medieval instruments may be constructed.

The story of instruments from the medieval Europe of about the time of Guido until the end of the sixteenth century is the story of improvement, by invention and modification, of already existing types. It is important because it covers the period during which instruments were gradually becoming a factor in the development of music itself. The *art* of music was changing from purely choral to choral and instrumental. More important still, it will be seen that after the choral aspect of the art has arrived at near perfection the growth of the instrumental phase which at

first was of secondary importance historically will continue as the main stream of musical development.

The Organ

Before the tenth century the organ was to be found either in the palaces of a very few kings¹ or in monasteries where it served as an aid to music instruction. After the tenth century organs which had been built by monks began to be a regular part of the equipment of the larger churches throughout Europe. These early organs consisted simply of a short set of pipes, numbering from ten to fourteen, with a bellows and a slot device for letting the wind into the pipes. The improvements made during the Middle Ages were the addition of more pipes and the substitution of a lever mechanism for the sliding air valve. The keyboard, in anything like the modern form, came fairly late. When it did come, the heavy wooden action made it necessary to have keys wide enough to be struck by the fist. These early organs had, from all accounts, an overpowering tone. The organ built at Winchester during the tenth century had four hundred pipes and two "manuals" of twenty (fist-struck) keys each. It could be heard throughout the city. The range of the organ kept pace with the expansion which has been pointed out in our account of choral music until, in the fourteenth century, it included three octaves. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the lever action had been improved sufficiently to allow a keyboard very similar to the present one. The necessity for modal transposition and the relaxing of the rules of *musica ficta* are exemplified in the appearance of the keys for the half-steps.

During the Renaissance organ builders were common throughout Europe, engaged not only in building instruments for churches, but in manufacturing a smaller type of portable organ, called the Regal, which rapidly was becoming a popular household instrument. The larger instruments now often had two keyboard manuals and pedals. These organs had many failings, such as heavy

¹ Louis the Pious had an organ built in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle in 826. Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, Vol. II, p. 3.

action and faulty tuning. Nevertheless, they had become important enough in both technical and musical possibilities so that the history of music cannot be written without mention being made of both their performers and the music written for them.

The Monochord and the Clavichord

The monochord, the one-stringed instrument which was used consistently by the medieval church musicians, was the subject of much experimentation. The eventual result of those experiments was one of the keyboard instruments of the Renaissance, the clavichord. After the string of the monochord had been marked to indicate the various lengths which could produce the tones of the scale, the next step was to place the string on a resonator and apply a keyboard. The keys were equipped with tangents which took the place of the movable bridge of the older instrument. As the demands on this modified monochord increased, more strings were added, finally resulting in an instrument upon which several tones could be produced at once, the clavichord. Peculiar to the clavichord was the fact that the tangent, actuated from the keyboard, not only produced the tone by striking the string, but determined the pitch by acting as a bridge. The part of the string which did not produce the tone was "damped." In some instruments of this type several tones were produced from one string by arranging the mechanism so that the tangents of more than one key struck the same string. In other instruments each key was provided with a string. The first was known as the "bound" clavichord; the second as the "free." The characteristic which differentiated the clavichord from other keyboard instruments was its peculiar tone. After the key was pressed down by the performer, his finger, through the key and tangent, retained contact with the string. He could, in consequence, impart to the tone, by the use of a vibrato similar to that used by modern violinists, the wavy tone quality known as the "Bebung." Although the tone of the clavichord was small, and had slight carrying power, this tonal possibility brought it great esteem.

The Psalterium and the Harpsichord

The psalterium, as can be seen in the accompanying illustration, was a crude harp, with the strings stretched within a triangular frame. A plectrum, held in the performer's hand, was used to produce the tone. A less primitive but very old variation of this type is the dulcimer, in which the strings, strung between two bridges over a resonating chamber, are struck with very light hammers. From these two instruments the harpsichord evolved.

The harpsichord was, in its final form, a large, harp-shaped instrument, quite similar in shape to the grand piano. The tone was produced by jacks which, when actuated from the keyboard, plucked the string and then fell back into place. No variation in tone dynamics could be obtained except by changing the material of which the plectra were made. The tone of the harpsichord was brilliant, though not loud, and quite agreeable. Harpsichord was the English name for the instrument. In Italy it was known as the *clavicembalo*, or simply the *cembalo*; in France it was called the *clavecin*; in Germany its name was *Flügel*.

The type of which the harpsichord is the most important contained many other instruments, differentiated chiefly on the basis of size and shape. Of these the virginals were very popular in England, where as late as the eighteenth century, they were the common household instrument. Pepys, writing in his *Diary* of the great London fire of September, 1666, noted the following: "River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water; and only I observed that hardly one lighter in three had the goods of a house in it but there was a pair of virginals in it." The plectra of the virginals were made of whale bone, leather, metal, or crow quill, depending upon the tone desired. Such an instrument in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, dating from about the year 1600, is eighteen and one-half inches long and eleven inches wide. Its range embraces three octaves and one whole tone, thus:

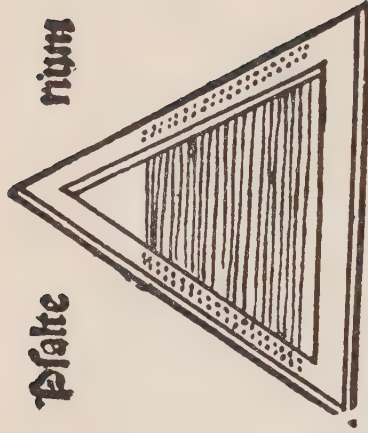


Harpfen

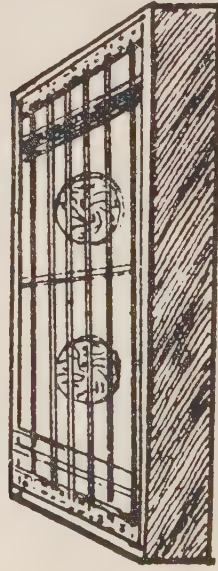


Psalte

rium



Hackbrett



vff zu lerne/ Dañ das muß vil mere durt
 eh groſſe übung/vñ durch den verſtand
 des gefangs zu gan dann man das durt
 eh regeln beſchryben mag/Darumb ich
 von den ſelben instrumenten an dem al-
 ler mynſten wirt ſchryben /dann ich ſye
 auch für on nütze instrumenta achte vñ
 halte/ als dye eleyen geigen vñnd das
 Trumſcheit.

EARLY HARP, PSALTERY, AND DULCIMER (HACKBRETT)

Illustrations from Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511)

(Courtesy of the Music Division, Library of Congress)

The keys of the instrument are very narrow, indicating that it could have been played only by a woman with small fingers. From this very small instrument the virginals varied in size to examples almost as large as the harpsichord.

Lutes and Viols

The whole family of plucked and bowed string instruments probably had some remote connection with the kithara of ancient Greece. Three of the common instrument names suggest this relationship: guitar, chitarrone, zither. The ancestry of this group of instruments is so much a matter of conjecture that at best a historian can but point out the difficulties. It is interesting and valuable, in this connection, to call attention to another series of name derivations which indicate the lack of uniformity in nomenclature which meets the student at every hand. They are names² for troubadour instruments:

LATIN:	<i>fides</i>
MIDDLE LATIN:	<i>fidula</i>
MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN:	<i>Fidel</i>
NORTH GERMAN:	<i>Feddel</i>
NORTH HIGH GERMAN:	<i>Fiedel</i>
PROVENÇAL:	<i>viula</i>
ITALIAN:	<i>viola</i>
NORTH FRENCH:	<i>viole</i>
MIDDLE FRENCH:	<i>viele</i>
SPANISH:	<i>vihuela</i>

Early drawings and carvings show stringed instruments played both with the bow and by plucking, without much differentiation in the shape of the instruments. Very slowly the pear-shaped body became standard (with wide variations from the norm, however), the low bridge becoming characteristic for the plucked instruments and the high bridge for those played with a bow. When it appeared

² From this it should be obvious that our words "fiddle" and "violin" are both descendants of the same root, one by way of the Germanic and the other by way of the Romance languages.

that the round back of the instrument³ made it clumsy for bowing, the flat back resulted, and for the same reason sides were cut away where the bow might touch them. Those alterations produced the characteristic viol shape.

The lute, as the original pear-shaped plucked instrument with fretted fingerboard came to be known, entered the Renaissance as perhaps the most popular of all instruments. As its musical usefulness increased, it was built in different sizes. Thus the lute proper was the medium-sized instrument with six pairs of strings, tuned usually, but not always, a fourth apart. The smaller chiterna had but four pairs of strings and was higher in pitch. The theorbo, archlute, and bass lute or chitarrone were larger instruments equipped not only with the pairs of strings stretched over the frets but with another set of strings of lower compass tuned diatonically.

The lutes were instruments of beautiful tone, soft, mellow, and vibrant. Although not capable of the sustained tone of the bowed instrument, they were ideal for accompanying the voice, and, in the hands of a good performer, could successfully reproduce a polyphonic texture.

The bowed string instruments of the period under discussion have been commonly described as all being members of the viol family. The reason for this is that at the time there was no very clear-cut differentiation in nomenclature. Recent detailed studies have shown that there was a striking difference in use between various types of bowed instruments.⁴ Such difference in use was partly the result of difference in ancestry and construction, and it furnishes a point of departure for a clear picture of the instruments themselves.

Four groupings are discernible among the bowed instruments of the Renaissance period: the true viols, the lyras, the instruments with sympathetic strings, and the rebecs.

The viols were the aristocrats among Renaissance bowed instruments. They were played in groups, or in *consort*, and were used also as solo instruments. Because their use in consort was most

³ It should be noted, however, that some of the characteristics of more ancient bowed instruments such as the rebec and the crowd (Welsh *crwth*) entered into this process of alteration.

⁴ Gerald R. Hayes, *Musical Instruments and Their Music*, Vol. II: *The Viols and Other Bowed Instruments*.

popular it was common to speak of a "chest of viols." The "chest" usually contained six instruments which could be chosen from the wide variety of sizes in which the instrument was built, sizes ranging from the smallest instrument known as the high descant or *pardessus de viole* through the treble, alto, small tenor, true tenor, small bass, consort bass, to the less common violone or large double bass. The consort viols were, with few exceptions, equipped with six strings over a fingerboard which was fretted, not, in the manner of a modern guitar, with strips of metal, but with tied gut strings which could be moved for different tunings. The true viols were never played under the chin but always in a downward position.

The viol as a solo instrument gave rise, sometime before the middle of the sixteenth century, to the instrument called the division viol, around which centered the technic which had arisen not only through the playing of viols in consort but through their use for the accompaniment of songs.

The viols were constructed with high bodies and from thin wood. The strings were small and played with a bow which arched away from the hair. The tone was reedy but not unpleasing. An immense increase in interest in these instruments and the music written for them has recently resulted in an enthusiasm among a certain type of musical antiquarian which is opening up a new field of musical lore and literature.

The lyra was an instrument shaped and played very much like the viol, with the distinction that its smallest representative, the *lyra da braccia*, was played under the chin. The other member of the family, the *lyra da gamba*, was played in the manner common to the viol. The lyras were strung with from seven to sixteen strings. Some of the strings were bowed but not fingered, thus producing a drone effect.

Bowed-string instruments having strings under the bridge which vibrated sympathetically to the strings over the bridge were common as a semipopular instrument. The *viola bastarda* was, in all respects except its tuning and use of sympathetic strings, a true viol. Such was not the case, however, with the *viola d'amore* and the *viola di bordone*. The *viola d'amore* was an instrument without frets on the fingerboard, and was held under the chin. It was

a serenading instrument. The *viola di bordone* was similar to the *viola d'amore* except that it was larger and played between the knees.

The rebec was the direct ancestor of the modern violin family. It was an instrument made in varying sizes, with three and four strings. The smaller instruments were played under the chin and their fingerboards were not fretted. Rebecs were seldom played in consorts, as were the viols but, because of the sharp brilliance of their tone, were popular for dancing.

A description of bowed stringed instruments of this period is not complete without some mention of the bow. The bow, in its present shape, is a relatively late invention. Its older form, in which the horsehair was fastened to a stick of true "bow" shape, was advantageous when combined with the flat bridge of the viols because it made the playing of several notes at once comparatively easy.

Sometime during the latter half of the sixteenth century one of the numerous Italian instrument makers, probably Gaspar da Salo of Brescia, made the first violin. The steps which led to its invention are obscure. Its relation to the viols was evidently apparent to its contemporaries because of the name they gave it. Its few strings, its unfretted fingerboard, and the fact that it was held under the chin proclaim its relationship to the rebec. Within two generations after its invention the unique quality of its tone had assured it a popularity which doomed all its ancestors to eventual disuse.

Reeds and Brass

Medieval and Renaissance instruments of the reed and brass types were legion. Perhaps the most picturesque were the shawms and bombards. The tone was produced by the coarse double reed which is so characteristic of the oriental reed instruments. The shawms and bombards were a straight wooden type, bored conically, with finger holes for changing pitch drilled laterally into the tube. They ranged in size from the large bombard, almost ten feet long, to the small treble shawm, only eighteen inches in

length. They were the ancestors of the oboe, English horn, and bassoon, but their quality of tone was much less pleasing than that of the modern instruments. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries composers found very little use for them. They were an outdoor, military instrument, and as such were combined in groups to lead in marching.

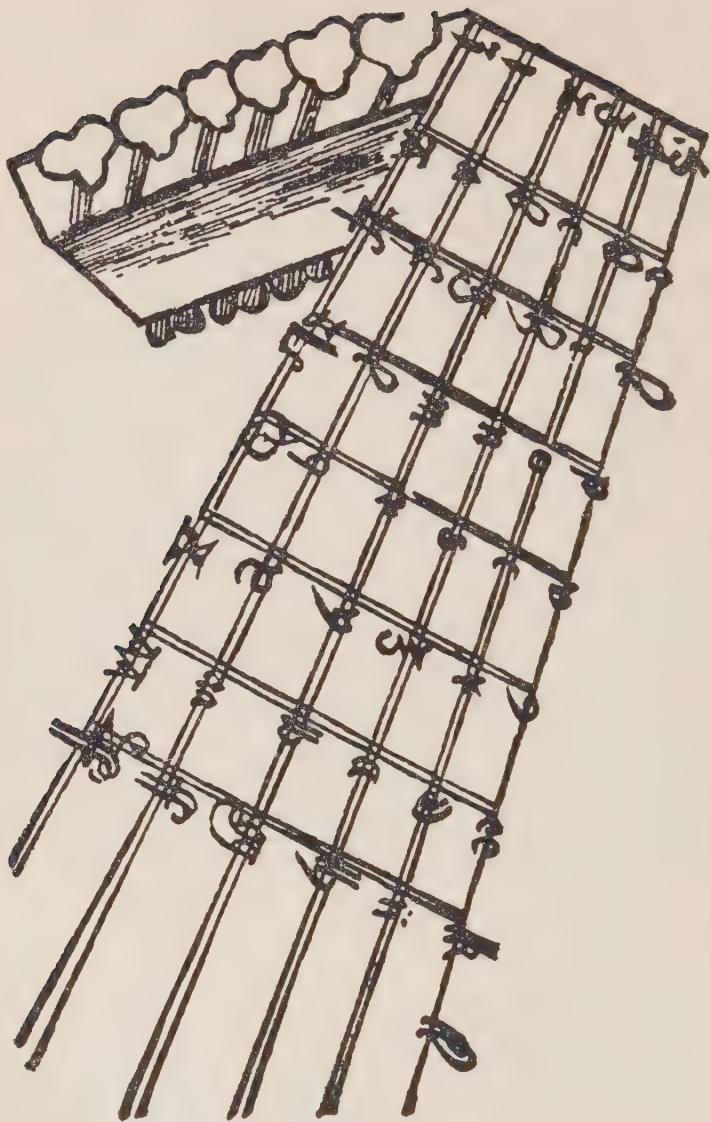
The recorders were very much like the shawms and bombards in appearance. The consort was composed of six instruments, from the very small high treble to the large double bass. The tone was produced by a fipple, and was similar to the tone of the modern flute; less penetrating and perhaps a little tame, but very sweet and pleasant. Its warbling quality was called *dulcet*. The recorders were used as a chamber instrument.

The sackbut, the ancestor of the modern trombone, was the most useful brass instrument aside from the horns and trumpets which were used only for military fanfares and hunting calls. Unlike the horns and trumpets, the fundamental pitch of the sackbut could be changed by the trombonelike slide. In consequence it could be played in tune throughout quite a large diatonic range. It had a massive, heavy tone which made it useful in reinforcing the voices in choral music. It had a wide use for this purpose, particularly in the churches.

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century instruments, particularly the brass and reeds, were clumsy and inarticulate when compared with our modern instruments. Inventions such as the valves for the brass and the lever and pad mechanism for the reeds have since transformed them. Music has had to wait for new and improved methods of mechanics and metallurgy for the perfection of these instruments.

Instrumental Notation

Throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods instrumental music was differentiated from choral by its notation. Our present notation, as has already been shown, is descended largely from the choral methods. Music for the organ, clavichord, harpsichord, lutes, and viols made use of tablatures which grew up with the instrument. Such notations, at least until music printing had estab-



RELATION OF TABLATURE NOTATION TO LUTE
FINGERBOARD

Illustration from Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511)
(Courtesy of the Music Division, Library of Congress)



ORGAN TABLATURE

Illustration from Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* (1511)

(Courtesy of the Music Division, Library of Congress)

lished some uniformity, were a chaos of different methods. Some of them made use of notes on a large staff which represented not sounds but positions on the instrument. Others used cryptic position signs with a letter notation. The bar line and the smaller notes made their first appearance in organ tablature, however, and from there became a part of general notation.

The sixteenth century saw the beginning of the amalgamation which, by combining the technic of the instrumentalist with the theoretical knowledge of the choral composer, welded the special advances made by both into an artistic whole. In this process the curious tablatures of the instrumentalists gradually disappeared. The important result of that amalgamation was not, however, the comparatively unimportant fact that instrumentalists found a more useful and uniform notation, but that their music began to become important. The rise of instrumental music and composers

which took place during the sixteenth century contained the germs of much of the later musical development.

Readings

Gerald R. Hayes
E. S. Kelly
Carl Engel
Victoria and Albert Museum

Ellye H. Glover
Oscar Bie
Francis W. Galpin
A. J. Hipkins

Jeffrey Pulver

Sandys and Forster
G. Hart
Johannes Wolf
J. W. von Wasielewsky

Musical Instruments and Their Music
Musical Instruments
Musical Instruments
A Picture Book of Keyboard Musical Instruments
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A Description and History of the Pianoforte
A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments
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15

EARLY INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Character of Early Instrumental Music

UNTIL the invention of music printing motivated musical composition as a substitute for extemporization, the history of instrumental music is largely a matter of conjecture. We know that instruments were in use all over Europe for both sacred and secular purposes, but of the actual music practically nothing has survived. When printed instrumental music did begin to appear, early in the sixteenth century, it represented a certain amount of achievement which must have been a fairly

advanced stage in a tradition of long standing. Extemporization according to well-understood and constantly improved rules was as old at least as the first troubadours. The playing of dance tunes and folk songs was little younger than the instruments themselves. Performers on the lute and the keyboard instruments were learning how to adapt choral music. The bowed instruments had long been used to play choral compositions, either assisting the singers or playing alone as an ensemble.

The connection between instrumental and choral music, even during the whole of the sixteenth century, was much closer than writers who describe the music of the period by the words "*a cappella*" would have us believe. Madrigals were quite as often played as they were sung, and the same was true of much of the sacred music. Instruments had very little else to play. What they did have that was truly instrumental in style was, however, very important.

The Growth of Music for the Organ

The organ, because it was the instrument of the Church and consequently attracted the attention of the best-trained musicians, was the first instrument to attain a style and literature. Francesco Landini, already mentioned as the important composer of the *ars nova* period in Italy, has achieved an almost legendary fame as an organist. His works for organ must be reconstructed from music which was written to be sung and played. Here, however, are to be found passages which must have been written with the keyboard in mind.

An Early German School

During the second half of the fifteenth century signs of a well-developed school of organ playing began to appear in Germany. Conrad Paumann and Paulus Hofhaimer were the organists around whom the school centered. Paumann's *Fundamentum organisandi*, dated 1452, was an instruction book in counterpoint as it applied to the organ. Like his contemporaries in France, Paumann used popular songs as *canti fermi*. Another manuscript, the

so-called *Buxheimer Organ Book*, was evidently compiled at a later date. It contains some pieces from Paumann's book and organ arrangements of some of the works of Dunstable, Binchois, and Dufay.

The number of instruction books for organ increased rapidly during the first third of the sixteenth century. Sebastian Virdung's *Musica Getutscht* appeared in 1511, followed the next year (1512) by Arnolt Schlick's collection¹ in tablature of sacred and secular songs for the organ. From this beginning collections of organ music were published in Germany, Italy, Spain, and France during the sixteenth century. The change from instruction books whose purpose was to teach methods of contrapuntal improvisation to collections of true organ music was characteristic of the progress that was being made. These collections of organ music establish the first instrumental forms and composers.

The Venetian School: Andrea Gabrieli

With the growth of the Venetian School which has been traced in a former chapter, Venice became a center of instrumental development. Andrea Gabrieli was the first important composer to write independent organ music. As is nearly always the case, lesser men had supplied the first hints, but in his hands the toccata (touch piece) began to indicate clearly that its future function would be to search out and develop the technical possibilities of the organ, and the fantasy or *ricercare*, as it soon came to be called, clearly forecast the fugue.

It is of fundamental importance to make perfectly clear at this point that the Venetian School applied the musical science of the Netherlands, not only to the madrigal but also to the early instrumental music. Just as the coalescence of the technic of the motet with the spirit of the frottola produced the madrigal, so did the application of the same technic to the organ produce the *ricercare*. Because the madrigal was a poetic form the technical aspect of its musical setting was gradually subordinated. But by the same token, the music for the organ which, from necessity, had dis-

¹ *Tablaturen etlicher Lobgesang und Liedlein uff die Orgeln und Lauten.*

pensed with the unifying and co-ordinating value of a verbal text, furnished composers with the means for grasping the architectural value of the Flemish musical science. The *ricercare*, and not the *madrigal*, was actually the medium through which the technic of men like Okeghem and Josquin took on formal significance and was transmitted to the future.

Early Organ Forms: Claudio Merulo

The word *fuga* has already come to our attention as describing a kind of musical imitation in which one voice followed another.² The imitation was not so strict in the early *ricercare*, but the name describes the process by which the theme is "searched" from one voice to another. The relation between the old *fuga*, the *ricercare*, and the *fugue* which later grew out of the *ricercare* can be understood from the fact that the Italian verbs *fugare* (to chase or follow) and *ricercare* (to search), to which the musical terms are closely related, are synonyms.

Both the *ricercare* and the *toccata* continued to interest the Venetian organists. Claudio Merulo (1533-1604) published several books of *ricercari* in which much progress is evident. He was a true member of the Venetian School in that his subject matter is chosen with regard to its clarity and tunefulness. The organization of his materials and the increased use of imitative devices show him to have been a master. Giovanni Gabrieli produced *ricercari* in which the imitation approximated that of the later *fugue*.

Thus, to sum up a whole century of the efforts of the Venetian organists is to risk giving their work too little emphasis. The Gabrielis and Merulo were extremely important composers; upon their discoveries much of the later immense development of organ literature was based. In the seventeenth century, it is true, the center of organ playing was to return to Germany. But it was carried there from Italy and grew directly out of the efforts of the Venetians.

² See the *Fuga duorum temporum* of Dufay given in Chapter 10.

Sweelinck

Before leaving the subject of sixteenth-century organists and organ music mention must be made of two other important men. The first of these is Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) who came to Venice from Holland to study with Zarlino and Gabrieli. He returned to Amsterdam where from 1580 until his death he was organist at the "Old Church." It thus came about that the Venetian organ forms and technic were transplanted into northern Europe where the forms of the Lutheran service were to give such an impetus to their development. Sweelinck's organ fantasies, like the *ricercari* of Merulo and G. Gabrieli, indicate the thought that composers were giving to the clear and unified working out of musical subject matter.

Frescobaldi

Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1644) belongs really to the seventeenth century. But because his work climaxed that of the older Italian organists he can be mentioned here. Frescobaldi's life was spent largely in Rome, where he was organist at St. Peter's. His fame brought him pupils from many parts of Europe; at least one of them, Froberger, must be mentioned later in another connection. Frescobaldi's importance historically lies in the fact that he produced a pure type of fugue. That name had not yet been applied to the form; it was still known as a fantasy or a *ricercare*.

The Problem of Form

The statement has been made before that musicians are the only artists who have had to work without models which can be found in nature. The whole matter of musical form, from the forms of the musical materials themselves to the forms of composition, has been subject to that law. The only way an individual composer can obviate the necessity of starting from the beginning as far as musical forms are concerned is to copy the forms which have been used by his predecessors. After he

has mastered them he may make a slight contribution toward their perfection. Frescobaldi, in perfecting one of the first instrumental forms, finished the work which had been begun by the Venetians, but more than that, he made it possible for later composers to turn their attention to using that form for expressive purposes.

The Lute: Popular Dance Forms

The large number of popular dances which are to be met in the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be traced back to the lute music of the sixteenth century. Books of lute music made their appearance in every European country, and in these books the dances first come to the notice of the historian. They probably had formed a large part of the literature for the lute for a long time before they were printed. It is, of course, true that dances appeared most often in the country of their origin, and also that small sections within a country had their own versions of the national dances, but when the dance became the basis for an instrumental form, it quickly became an international property. The pavana and the galliard are very common in the collections, and, as is the case with a number of others, the variations in spelling indicate that they had traveled far from the place of their origin. Because these dances play such an important role in later musical development, a list of the most important will be given:

PAVANA	Italian	VOLTA	Italian
GALLIARD	Italian	BALLET	Italian
JIG or GIGUE	English	ALLEMANDE	German
PASSAMEZZO	Italian	MASCARADA	Italian
SALTARELLO	Italian	PIVA	Italian
VILLANELLE	Italian	SPINGARDO	Italian
BRAULE	French	CALATA	Italian
COURANT	French		

Transcriptions

The lutenists did not confine themselves to dances, but with truly cosmopolitan taste performed and included in their pub-

lished collections what might be called a representative cross section of most of the current music of Europe. Transcriptions of motets and madrigals and of organ *ricercari* are to be met with constantly. A favorite practice was to transcribe all but one voice of a madrigal, turning it into a solo song with lute accompaniment. Many madrigals must have been composed with such a possibility in view. The beautiful Arcadelt madrigal "Il bianco cigno" is a case in point. It appeared at first as a madrigal for four voices; later it was made into a solo song. The illustration shows the first part of the madrigal in both versions.³

IL BIANCO CIGNO

a) Arcadelt

Il bian-co edol-ce Ci-gno can-tan-do mo-re et io pian-gen-
 Il bian-co edol-ce Ci-gno can-tan-do mo-re et io pian-gen- etc.
 Il bian-co edol-ce Ci-gno can-tan-do mo-re et io pian-gen-
 et io pian-gen-

b)

Il bian-co edol-ce Ci-gno can-tan-do mo-re et io pian-gen- etc.

Chansons such as Lasso's *Mon cœur se recommande à vous* were written for lute and voice. Finally, the lute was used in the most varied instrumental combinations.

³ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, Vol. III, pp. 303-304 (original).

J. B. Wekerlin, *Echos du temps passé*, Vol. I, pp. 28-29, gives the version for lute (or piano) and voice.

Music for Clavichord and Harpsichord

The stringed instruments with keyboards attracted the attention of composers less during the sixteenth century than did the organ. The reason for that is not clear, because instruction books for clavichord and harpsichord (virginals in England) were published in Germany, Italy, France, England, and Spain. The instruction was directed largely at teaching performers to play choral music from score and to improvise. Not until late in the century, in England, does a well-defined school of composition appear. It may be said that although this school extends into the seventeenth century, its work is characteristic of the sixteenth. For this reason, and because the instrumental phase of the activity of the English composers, like the choral, ended abruptly during the reign of James I, it will be treated here in its entirety.

Present knowledge concerning the keyboard compositions of the English composers is derived largely from a group of collections, manuscript and printed, which survive in some of the libraries of Great Britain. These collections are:






THE FITZWILLIAM BOOK	Manuscript
BENJAMIN COSYN'S VIRGINAL BOOK	1600—Manuscript
MY LADY NEVELL'S BOOK	Manuscript
PARTHENIA	1611—first printed book for virginals
WILL FOSTER'S VIRGINAL BOOK	1624—Manuscript


The Fitzwilliam Book is a collection covering the fairly long period from 1550 to 1620. It contains compositions by Tallis, Byrd, Morley, Gibbons, and others whose names have been mentioned in connection with the madrigal. Giles Farnaby (1560?-1600?), a musician whose name appears only as a composer of instrumental music, is represented by a number of compositions, among which are those which will be used as illustrations. In addition to the works of English composers, *The Fitzwilliam Book* contains arrangements of music by Sweelinck, Lasso, Marenzio, Caccini,⁴ and other continental musicians.


⁴ This composer has been thus far omitted from the discussion because of his importance in the *Camerata* which will form the basis of a later chapter.

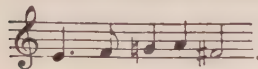
The other books indicate by their contents that Bull, Byrd, and Gibbons were the most esteemed and also the most productive composers of music for the virginals. *Benjamin Cosyn's Book* contains ninety-eight pieces by Tallis, Bull, Byrd, and Gibbons; *My Lady Nevell's Book* is a collection of forty compositions, all by Byrd; *Parthenia*, the first printed music for virginals, contains twenty-one pieces by Bull, Byrd, and Gibbons; *Will Foster's Virginal Book* contains more than seventy pieces representing a wide variety of composers, chief among whom is Gibbons.

The Early Suite

The musical contents of these books gives, to a remarkable degree, an insight into the progress which instrumental music had made during the sixteenth century. All of the dances which made up such a large part of the lutenist's repertoire are represented. But here they are found associated in groups which are often preceded by a prelude. While the preludes were very primitive, they were interesting because they seemed to serve as a rather formless vehicle for displaying instrumental technic: runs, trills, ornaments, and occasional arpeggios. The most common grouping was prelude-pavana-galliard. This early practice of contrasting dance movements in groups was the beginning of the very important seventeenth- and eighteenth-century suite. The early names of what later came to be known as suites will be of value in the study of later instrumental music. Such groups of dances were called in England *lessons*, in Italy *sonate da camera*, in Germany *partita*, and in France *ordres*. Our illustrations at this point have been selected because recordings of them can be obtained. *The Earl of Salisbury* by Byrd is a rudimentary suite in that it is made up of two dances, a pavana and a galliard. The music is worth close examination, not only because it is remarkably effective keyboard music, but also because it can give an insight into the fine workmanship of a composer who was representative of a whole school. In the pavana, observe how the two figures   ( ) and  are woven into the texture. In the galliard, note the relation which exists in the first two measures between

the following two bits of subject matter: 

and  which in the third measure becomes

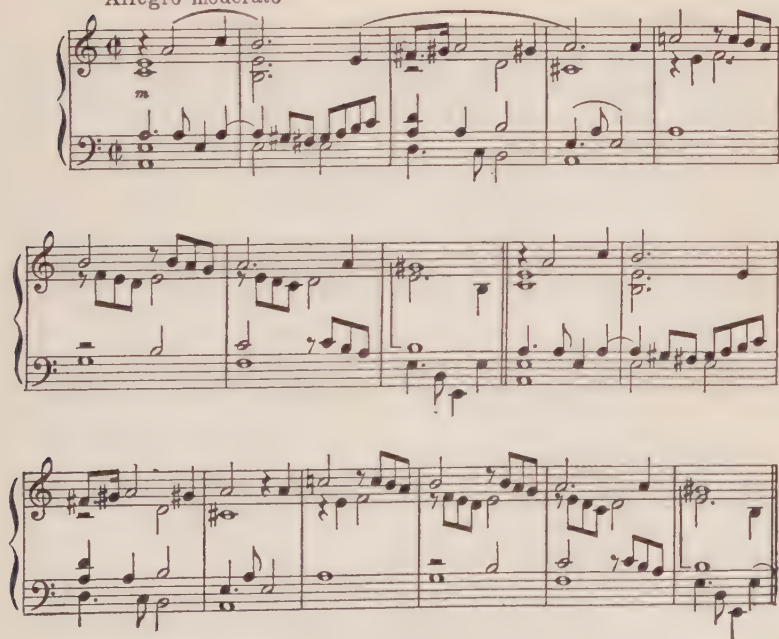
. Then see how the first three notes of the second bit of subject matter recur throughout the rest of the piece. The use of these rather simple architectural devices is not the only interesting aspect of these little dances. The feeling for tonality is quite clear; in fact, the pavana modulates from what is quite clearly A minor to C major and back, and finally ends characteristically on an A major chord. The whole technic forecasts, in a surprising manner, what might be expected of a much more modern composer.

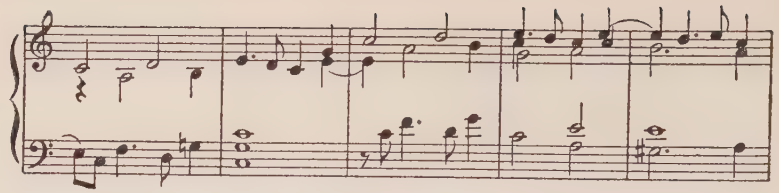
THE EARL OF SALISBURY

PAVANA

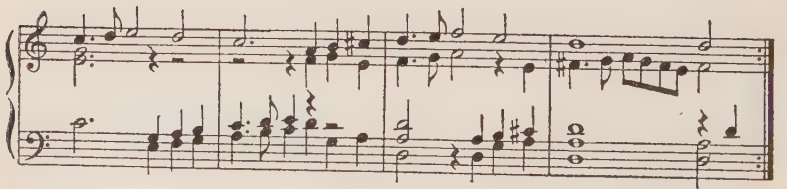
Byrd

Allegro moderato





GALLIARD





Other Forms

Fantasies, or *ricercari*, appear in all of the virginal books. These pieces are similar to the compositions of the Venetian organists; they mark an understanding of this form comparable to that of the Venetians but not of Frescobaldi.

Arrangements of songs and madrigals were as common in the virginal music as in that for the lute, and need not be discussed. Two other very interesting types, however, may be introduced here, as forming a part of the early keyboard literature: the variations and the fancy pieces.

The *variation* was the result of the application to instrumental music of the ancient choral method in which a short cantus firmus was used as the basis for an extended composition. Compositions such as "The Carmen's Whistle" by Byrd and the "Divisions on a Ground" for viol da gamba and lute, by Norcome, are characteristic. The title "Divisions on a Ground" describes the technical procedure: a melody of suitable length called the "ground" was embellished by florid passages called "divisions." The variation technic was adopted universally by instrumentalists. It was destined to assume monumental significance not only in combination with such dance forms as the chaconne and passacaglia but also as a permanent device for the fuller exploitation and utilization of musical materials.

The *fancy pieces* were really early attempts at the sort of musical description which later was called program music. Composers already familiar with the madrigalism were naturally intrigued by the discovery that their instruments could imitate natural sounds, and it must have seemed obvious that such imitation could be made to serve as a basis for musical form. The fourth piece in *My Lady Nevell's Book* by Byrd, which is a whole set of short

movements dealing with military life, is so representative that the subtitles will be given here:

THE SOLDIERS' SUMMONS
THE MARCH OF HORSEMEN
THE TRUMPETS
THE IRISH MARCH

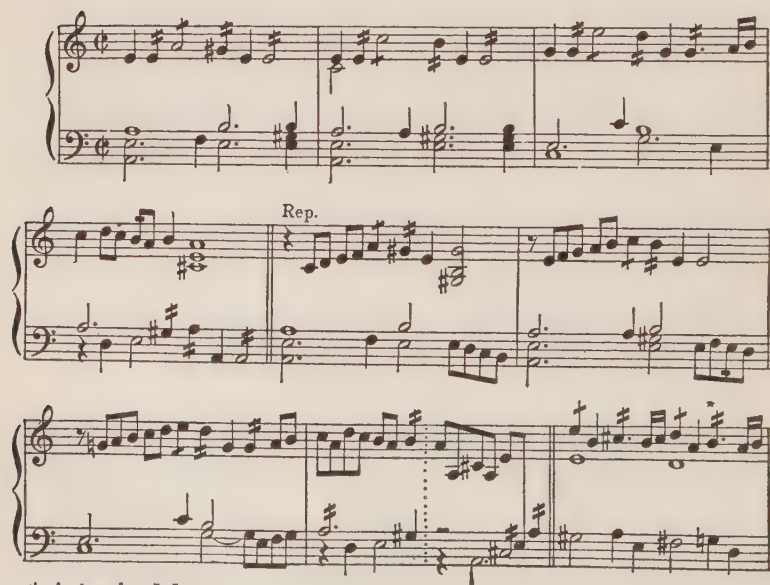
THE BAGPIPE
AND THE DRONE
THE FLUTE AND THE DRUM
(illustrated below)



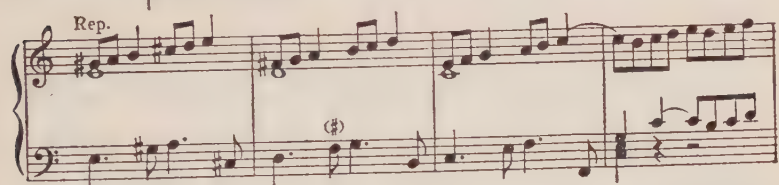
THE MARCH TO THE FIGHT
THE RETREAT. NOW FOLLOWETH A GALLIARD FOR THE VICTORIE.

Much more successful than these are the delicate little pieces of Giles Farnaby, which are illustrated here in full.

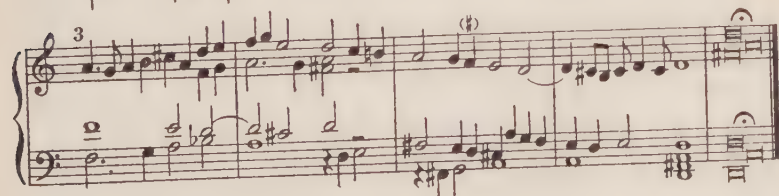
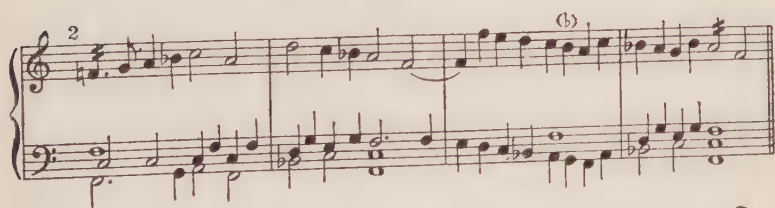
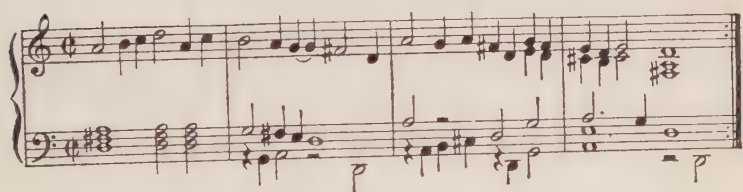
A TOYE



* A in the Ms.

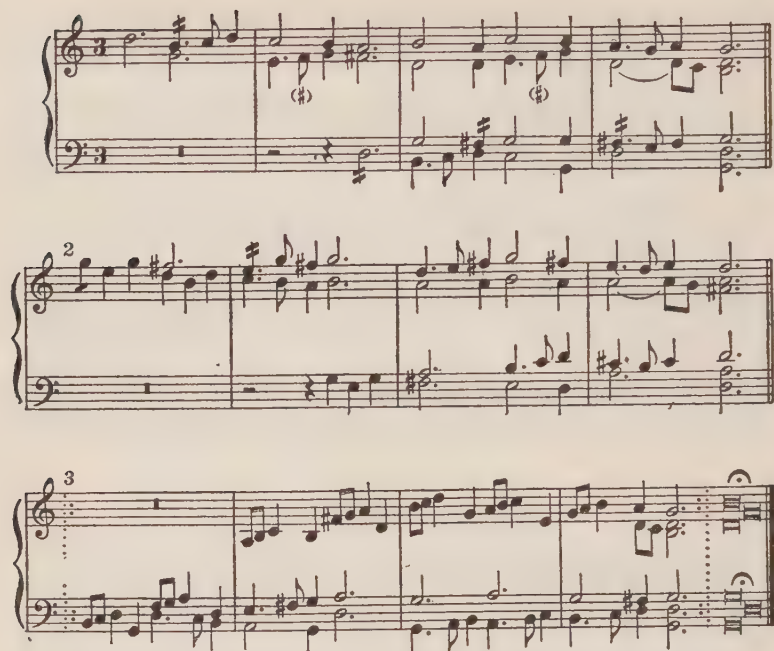


HIS DREAM



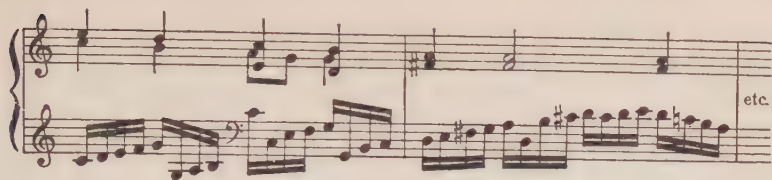
HIS REST

Galliard



The importance of the fancy pieces arises not only from the fact that they are very early attempts at program music, but that they furnished composers for the keyboard, who were also performers, with an incentive for exploring the possibilities of their instruments. The growth of an instrumental style depended upon many factors, not the least of which was the discovery of the capacities of each individual instrument. Such passages as the following from Bull's descriptive music, "The King's Hunt,"⁵ indicate that progress was being made in that direction.

⁵ This composition is too long to be given in full. It may be found, however, on pages 116-117 of the Breitkopf edition of *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, or under the title of "The King's Hunting Jigg" in Vol. II of Schirmer's *Golden Treasury of Piano Music*.



Music for the Viols

A large part of the music played by the viols during the sixteenth century can be described by quoting the directions which are to be found at the head of much of the choral music of the period. In Italy composers wrote under the titles of their madrigals the words "per cantare o suonare" and in England "apt for voyces or viols." Because of this practice, which indicates that no clear differentiation between choral and bowed instrumental style had been perceived, the viols were used much more widely than existing literature would indicate.

Some attempts were made, however, to write independent music for the viols. The Norcome "Divisions on a Ground" are, for England at least, an example of a type of music which was immensely popular later in the seventeenth century. Christopher Simpson's book *The Division Violist, or an Introduction to the Playing upon a Ground* first appeared in 1659, and was published in many editions. The subtitle gives us both a clue as to the purpose of the book and an explanation of why more music of this type has not survived: "Divided into Two Parts. The First, Directing the Hand, with other Preparative Instructions. The Second, Laying open the Manner and Method of Playing Ex-tempore, or Composing Divisions to a Ground. To which are added some Divisions made upon Grounds for the Practice of Learners." It might be added that Norcome's composition is now in existence because Simpson included it as an example.

When the viols played in "consort" they used, as has already been indicated, the parts of choral compositions. Toward the end of the century original consort music began to make its appearance. This marks the beginning of chamber music for groups of strings. Most of these were called fantasies, and they exhibit a texture quite similar to that of the *ricercare*. Compositions of

this sort by Weelkes and Morley have been recorded. Byrd and Gibbons also wrote both fantasies and sets of dances for the "chest of viols." The accompanying illustration, which is the first few bars of a Byrd fantazia⁶ will give a clear idea not only of the manner in which the strings were treated, but also of the type of imitation which characterized the fantasy.

FANTAZIA for "Chest of Viols"

Byrd

The musical score is arranged in two systems of six staves each. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the first staff (Violin I) playing a melodic line, the second staff (Violin II) playing a similar line, and the third staff (Viola) playing a more complex, rhythmic line. The second system continues the piece, with the first staff playing a melodic line, the second staff playing a similar line, and the third staff playing a more complex, rhythmic line. The score ends with 'etc.' on the third staff.

⁶ William Byrd, "Fantazia No. 2."

England and Italy

Because our illustrations are taken from the works of English composers it must not be supposed that England was the only place where music for the viols was being written. The history of instrumental music in Italy, for instance, might very well be written with no reference to the English School. Italy was the center of instrument manufacture, and as much important instrumental music was written there as was in England. In both countries, however, the general direction of development was the same. Without having any well-defined understanding of the capacities of the bowed instruments, composers were gradually working from a choral polyphonic style to the unknown instrumental style of the future. In England the madrigal style produced the fantazia for strings; in Italy the similar string music was called the canzona. Both names apply to music which, when national differences are discounted, is the same.

The important single fact to be grasped with regard to late sixteenth-century instrumental forms is the connection between them and the polyphonic choral forms of the same period. In the case of the dance tunes and the fancy pieces the connection was very slight; the tendency was toward a revolutionary simplification of the polyphonic technic. The *ricercare*, the *fantazia*, and the *canzona* were, on the other hand, the result of a transfer of the technic of the madrigal and the motet to instrumental music.

A Period Ends

The presentation of the history of music during the sixteenth century has too often been subject to an oversimplification which leaves the impression that Lasso and Palestrina were the only important composers and that the only music written was religious choral music. It is perfectly true that Lasso and Palestrina were giants, and that their great works were written in the polyphonic choral style for the Church. But to notice only the aspect of the sixteenth century which their religious works represent is to view their whole century only in its relation to the past. That relation-

ship was close; their works were the culmination of an old musical tradition. But when one great movement reaches its peak, another must take its place. And the other, which was characterized by interest in the secularization of the art and the development of instruments and their music, had already begun. Not only had it begun, but it was gathering such momentum that a long time passed after the deaths of Lasso and Palestrina in 1594 before anyone realized that one great period was finished and another begun.

Readings

Gerald R. Hayes
Henry Prunières
Edna R. Sollitt
W. F. Apthorp
E. W. Naylor
C. Van den Borren

Jeffrey Pulver

Gustave Reese
Herbert Westerby
Adam Carse
Louis Adolphe Coerne
Otto Kinkeldey

Leonard Ellinwood

Musical Instruments and Their Music
Monteverdi

From Dufay to Sweelinck

The Opera Past and Present

An Elizabethan Virginal Book

The Sources of Keyboard Music in England

A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music

A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments

Music in the Middle Ages

The History of Pianoforte Music

The History of Orchestration

The Evolution of Modern Orchestration

Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des XVI. Jahrhunderts

The Works of Francesco Landini

Part Five: The Beginning of the Modern Period

PROLOGUE:

COMMERCIAL EXPANSION, ABSO- LUTE MONARCHS, GROWTH OF SCIENCE

B*Y 1600 the Renaissance had lifted the arts to an almost unsurpassably high point, whence it began to recede. But the implications of many aspects of the greatly broadened outlook which had come to Europe were just beginning to make themselves felt. The political and economic implications of the Lutheran Reformation, for instance, had yet to be fought over in the disastrous Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). As this conflict continued, many of its victims migrated to America where they sought greater opportunity and more complete freedom than Europe could offer them. Tales of wealth and opportunity to be found across the sea shone like a light in the western sky which Europeans were to follow for generations. The continent of Europe was filling up with people: cities were growing, transportation was becoming easier, wealth was*

increasing—the land and its people were beginning to look and feel like modern Europe.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century England was at the climax of one of her most brilliant periods. It was the England of Queen Elizabeth, Francis Bacon, and William Shakespeare. As the century moved on, it saw Cromwell, Milton, the Commonwealth, the Restoration, Dryden, the "Glorious Revolution," and the Bill of Rights. An Englishman, William Harvey, charted the circulation of blood in the human body. Another Englishman, Robert Hooke, using the microscope which had been developed in Holland just before 1600, gave the world its first study of the cellular structure of plants. Robert Boyle buttressed the foundations of the new science of chemistry, and Isaac Newton laid the mathematical foundation of the new world which science was to produce. As the century came to a close, John Locke was finishing his work, thus giving the new world of the seventeenth century its philosophical structure.

What was taking place in England found its counterpart in most of the rest of Europe. Seventeenth-century France began with Henry IV, lived under the great Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, and ended as the social and cultural center of the world under Louis XIV. In Descartes, France had one of her most impressive intellects. In La Fontaine, Corneille, Molière, and Racine she had her poetic and dramatic Golden Age. The same century in Spain was the century of Velasquez, in the low countries of Rubens, Rembrandt, Vermeer, and Van Dyck. Germany, torn by the conflicts of the Thirty Years' War, produced a Kepler, and Italy, sick from the ills of foreign domination and internal strife, furnished the background for Galileo.

This was a century whose art and literature, religion and

politics, science and economics lead into our own world with hardly a break. Its life was motivated by so many cross currents that, in comparison even to the previous century, it felt "modern."

Among these cross currents, two are of particular interest to our subject. The first was the growing interest in decorative detail, continuing from the Renaissance, which produced the energetic and often extravagant floridity so prevalent in the arts of the seventeenth century. The second was the renewed interest in the literature and art of the Greek and Roman world which, for many men of the seventeenth century, proclaimed a distinct break with the Renaissance and a "return," by means of formal imitation, to what was felt to be a new classicism.

These two motivations, the baroque and the new classical, often in conflict, are to be found everywhere in the seventeenth century. They are to be found in the palaces of Paris and Versailles, the churches of London, and even in some of the buildings in Colonial America. They are to be found in the writing of Bunyan, Milton, and Dryden. And they were to have tremendous importance in the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

16

THE RENAISSANCE COMES TO MUSIC

The Renaissance Method

BY THE year 1600 the Renaissance, that great quickening influence, had reached and passed its high point. Its most brilliant period in Italy centered at the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent in Florence near the end of the fifteenth century. Our present interest is not, then, in the Renaissance as a movement; that was already declining. It is in the Renaissance as a method, a method which clarifies the musical situation at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Benvenuto Cellini, in his *Autobiography*, tells how, as a youth in Florence, he spent holidays in the fields digging up the long-buried statues of ancient Greek and Roman artists. Vasari, in his *Lives*, frequently mentions the interest which those ancient works aroused in men like Michelangelo. The scholars who gathered in the Medici palace were busy translating the writings of antiquity. The legends and dramas of ancient literature were being drawn upon by "modern" artists both for forms and for subject matter; witness the remarkable growth of classical allusion, to say nothing of the resetting, as with Shakespeare, of the stories themselves. The *method* of the Renaissance was to attempt to recreate classical art.

Our study has thus far failed to discover any like method being applied to music. True, the musicians traced their theory back to ancient sources, but the art itself was not the result of a "rebirth" but of a steady growth which had its roots in the necessities of the medieval Church. The plain song was the one aspect of music

which represented the connection with ancient art; and it was in keeping with the Renaissance spirit and method that Palestrina was asked to revise that back to its earliest forms. But it could in no way be used as a model for the creation of new forms; and not until musicians began consciously to recreate what they understood to be the musical art of the ancient world could they be said to have entered fully into the method of the Renaissance.

Musicians could not do as Cellini and Michelangelo had done, unearth and restore ancient masterpieces. But they could read about the beauties of Greek music. Classic literature contains reference after reference to the power and beauty of the "lost art." It is small wonder that musicians felt that if they only could unlock the secret they would discover an art as wonderful and worthy of admiration as that of the Parthenon. When this desire became embodied in new methods of musical treatment, and, in fact, in a wholly new type of music, the Renaissance may be said to have at last made its direct impress on the course of musical development.

The musicians who took part in the movement were many, and the tangle of events and influences difficult to unravel. The years between 1585 and 1610 saw the unfolding of one of the most important episodes in the whole history of music, because it furnished modern musical art with materials and methods hitherto lacking.

"Modern" Musicians

The characters of the drama which was about to be played on the stage of musical history are important: Orazio Vecchi (1551-1605), Emilio del Cavaliere (1550?-1600?), Claudio Monteverde (1568-1643), the members of the *Académie du palais* in Paris, and the members of the *Camerata* in Florence. Each of these men or groups of men attempted to recreate some aspect of what they understood to be the lost musical art of ancient Greece. The one thing which impressed them when they read about Greek music was the fact that the Greeks seemed to have had some method for combining poetry and music so effectively that recitations and dramas to music were more effective than either could be alone.

The central problem was one of expression. The rediscovery of the method which would increase the possibilities of musical expression was, then, the humanistic goal of all their experiments.

It was natural that the first attempts should be made in connection with already existing forms. In Italy the madrigal and in France the chanson were subjected to modifications with this end in view. Monteverde was characteristic of the composers whose madrigals contained innovations which were calculated to subjugate the music to the text.

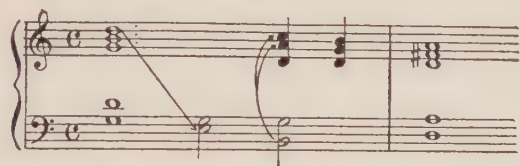
The Madrigals of Monteverde

From 1583, when Monteverde's first works appeared, until 1605, he published five books of madrigals. His approach to the problem was based upon his belief that musical expression was inherent in the proper use of concord and discord. In modern terminology this might be stated by saying that the psychological demands of the text furnished a more powerful law of musical structure than did the necessities of purely musical syntax. Monteverde, after his study of Plato, was willing to justify his defiance of the accepted principles of harmony by citing the demands of expression. The climax of Monteverde's methods came in the fifth book of madrigals. It was published in 1605, but it contained madrigals which evidently had been written several years earlier. The first madrigal in the book, "Cruda Amarilla," had the effect of a statement of a new musical faith, and as such it became the center of a storm of controversy. Chief among Monteverde's denouncers was a Bolognese musician, Giovanni Maria Artusi,¹ whose attack was published at Venice in 1600. When Monteverde published the madrigals in question he made answer, in the form of a long preface written by his brother, to the arguments which Artusi had set forth.

¹ Francesco Caffe, *Storia della musica sacra*, Vol. I, p. 216.

Harmonic Innovations: Justification

Monteverde's crime was no less than the use of the unprepared seventh and the allowance of some other dissonances which Artusi considered to be offensive. The madrigal "Cruda Amarilla" begins with the following passage, to the word *cruda* (cruel):



The composer in a previous shorter letter answering Artusi had said in relation to this passage: "I have none the less written this answer to make known that I do not make my things by chance." Monteverde's brother then goes on to elaborate:

My brother says that his things were not made by chance, inasmuch as his intention has been (in this genus of music) to make the text the master of the harmony, and not the servant; and in this manner his compositions should be judged. They should be judged in relation to the composition of the melody from the standpoint of Plato, who, in speaking of it, said these words: "melody consists of three things: speech, harmony, rhythm" . . . and later he [Plato] gives stronger emphasis to the function of speech with these words: "What then is the mode of speaking; and does not language follow the motion of the soul and other things likewise in truth follow language?" But in this Artusi takes from a good master certain particulars of the madrigal "Cruda Amarilla" of my brother, never caring about the text, overlooking it in such a manner as if the words had nothing to do with the music, showing the already mentioned passages deprived of their text, of the whole harmony and rhythm of language. But if he had, in the passages cited by him as false, expounded their text, the world would have clearly understood the source of his criticism, and he could not have

said that they were chimera and castles in the air; though certainly a beautiful case could be made against them through their non-observance of the rules of the old usage. . . . But my brother, knowing music surely to revolve upon the perfection of the melody, and, considering harmony thus in its relation to melody, will show that instead of being master it becomes the servant of language, and the language becomes the master of the harmony. To this idea tends the . . . modern usage, and upon such a basis he truly promises to show against the critic that the harmony of the madrigal "Cruda Amarilla" is not made by chance, but rather by great skill and by good study not understood by and not known to the adversary.²

Monteverde's Interest in the French Academy

Monteverde's experiments led him into new harmonic territory. But that he was interested in the experiments of other musicians is early indicated by the way in which he was influenced by the work of the French *Académie du palais*. He became acquainted with the *canto alla francese*³ during a trip made to Spa with his patron, the Duke of Mantua. The *Académie du palais* was a group of poets and musicians, headed by Ronsard and Baïf, who were trying to apply the ancient poetic meters to French verse. The musicians of Baïf's group, Claude Le Jeune (1528?-1600?) and Du Caurroy (1549-1609) among others, were, in turn, setting these poems in the "*mesurée à l'antique*" to music. Monteverde evidently conceived the work of this group to be an attack on the problem of expression from the standpoint of rhythm. After his return to Italy he composed the *scherzi musicali*, making use of rhythmic formulas which undoubtedly conform to the French principles in method. The *scherzi musicali* are very simple part songs for three voices with an instrumental introduction which is repeated between the verses. The instrumental section is called the "ritornello." The first one, "I bei legami," is characteristic of

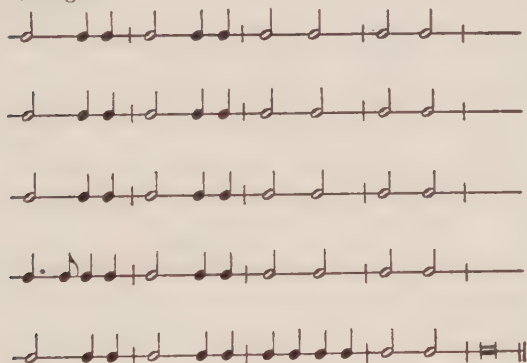
² Claudio Monteverdi, *Quinto Libro*.

³ Henry Prunières, *Monteverdi*.

most of them in that it was evidently, for Monteverde, a metrical study. Because this rhythmic aspect is so definitely a new departure in compositions that were not dance music, and because it is one aspect of the search for musical materials which could function expressively, the metric pattern of both the ritornello and the verse are presented here for examination.

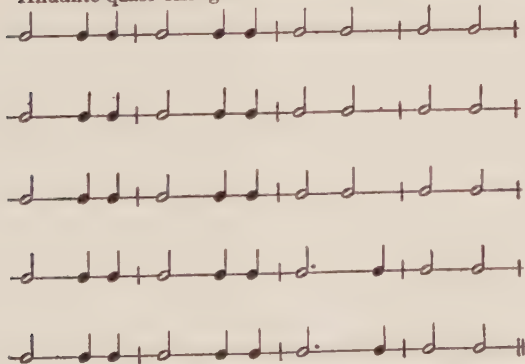
RITORNELLO

Allegro



VERSE

Andante quasi Allegro



Vecchi: The "Madrigal Opera"

The madrigal was subjected to a still further extension of its function. Originally it had been simply a combination of words and music that gave people a chance to sing. Monteverde tried to make it a medium of emotional expression. Orazio Vecchi, among others, attempted to make it the basis of a kind of musical play or drama. Renaissance poets and musicians knew that music had been an integral part of the Greek drama, and it was perfectly natural that they should attempt to transform existing musical means to dramatic ends. Vecchi's *Amfiparnasso* was such an attempt, and it represents what has since come to be called the "madrigal opera." It was a drama of three acts and prologue in which the entire text was set for a five-part chorus. It is difficult to make a fair evaluation of this sort of intermediate opera. Judged as madrigal music it is probably at least equal to many of the best late madrigals. Judged as dramatic music it was, of course, a failure. Its contemporary value was probably negative, in that it demonstrated to musicians the impossibility of making progress in that direction.

The Camerata

During the last ten or twelve years of the sixteenth century, a group of literati and musicians gathered at the palace of Count Bardi in Florence, with the purpose of rediscovering the manner in which the Greeks had used music with the drama. This group is known in the annals of music history as the Camerata, and its work was destined to have a most profound influence. In their attempts to recreate the Greek drama, these men began by discarding the whole polyphonic method. The sense of the drama depended upon the words being audible to the hearers, and the early experiments of the Camerata were directed toward the discovery of a style of music which would make that possible.

The Members of the Camerata

The training and background of the men who formed the Camerata were similar to that of the Italian composers of the late sixteenth century whose names have already been mentioned. They were perfectly familiar with the madrigal and the motet, and with all the varied instrumental types which were current. They were composers, singers, and instrumentalists.

Vincentio Galilei (1533-1591), the father of the great astronomer, was a pupil of Zarlino, and a skillful singer and lutenist. Giulio Caccini (1550?-1618) was a composer of some repute, a singer and singing master, a lutenist, and the author of the book *Nuove musiche*, which is not only the source of much of our information concerning the Camerata, but is also one of the earliest treatises on methods of singing. Giacompo Peri (1561-1633) was director of music to the Florentine court. Marco da Gagliano (1575?-1642) was a Florentine musician of some renown. Emilio del Cavaliere (1550?-1600?) was a Roman composer whose connection with the Florentine group is not clear. It is certain, however, that he was in Florence for several years between 1585 and 1600, and that upon his return to Rome he produced at least one work, still extant, which is typical of the Camerata. Ottavio Rinuccini was important as chief poet of the group.

Experiments of Galilei and Cavaliere

Credit for the first experiments under the new method has been given to Galilei and Cavaliere. The music in question has not survived. Galilei's works took the form of monodic settings of the Ugolino scene from Dante's *Inferno* and of the Lamentations of Jeremiah; they should be dated about 1590. Cavaliere's first work in the new style may have been slightly earlier, but here, too, the music has disappeared. In 1595 *Dafne*, a fable set to music (*favola in musica*), the poem by Rinuccini and the music by Peri, was performed before a private gathering in Florence. But the music to *Dafne* has long since been lost.

Peri's Euridice

The first work of the Camerata which has survived and which, consequently, can be examined, is Peri's setting of Rinuccini's poem *Euridice*. It was performed as part of the celebration at the wedding of Henry IV of France with Marie de Médicis which took place in Florence during October, 1600. This drama set to music (*dramma per musica*) is known as the first opera, and as such, the details of its method and construction are of the highest interest and importance.

When *Euridice* was published Peri himself wrote a preface setting forth in detail both what he had attempted to do and his reasons for making the attempt.

Before offering you this music of mine, I think proper to make known to you what led me to invent this new kind of vocal writing; since reason must be the beginning and source of all human doings, and he who cannot give his reason at once lays himself open to the suspicion of having worked at haphazard. Although our music was brought upon the stage by Sig. Emilio del Cavaliere, with marvelous originality, before anyone else I know of, it nevertheless pleased Signori Iacopo Corsi and Ottavio Rinuccini (in the year 1594) to have me set to music the play of *Dafne*, written by Sig. Ottavio Rinuccini, treating it in another manner, to show by a simple experiment of what the song of our age is capable. Wherefore, seeing that I had to do with Dramatic Poetry, and must accordingly seek, in my music, to imitate one who speaks (and doubtless no one ever yet spoke in singing), it seemed to me that the ancient Greeks and Romans (who, in the opinion of many, sang the whole of their tragedies on the stage) must have made use of a sort of music which, while surpassing the sounds of ordinary speech, fell so far short of the melody of singing as to assume the shape of something intermediate between the two. And this is why we find in their poems so large an use made of the Iambic Metre, which does not rise to the sublimity of the Hexa-

meter, albeit it is said to overstep the bounds of ordinary speech. Therefore, abandoning every style of vocal writing known hitherto, I gave myself up wholly to contriving the sort of imitation (of speech) demanded by this poem. And, considering that the sort of vocal delivery applied by the ancients to singing, and called by them *vox diastematica* (as if held in check and kept in suspense), could be somewhat accelerated, so as to hold a mean course between the slow and deliberate pace of singing and the nimble, rapid pace of speaking, and thus be made to serve my purpose (as they, too, adapted it to the reading of poems and heroic verse) by approaching the speaking voice, called by them *vox continuata*, as has also been done by our modern composers (if perhaps for another purpose); considering this, I also recognized that, in our speech, some sounds are intoned in such a way that harmony can be based upon them and that, in the course of conversation, we pass through many others which are not so intoned, until we return to one which is capable of forming a new consonance. And, having regard for the accents and modes of expression we use—in grief, rejoicing, etc.—I have made the bass move at a rate appropriate to them, now faster, now slower, according to the emotions to be expressed, and have sustained it through both dissonances and consonances [*tra le false, e tra le buone proporzioni*], until the speaker's voice, after passing through various degrees of pitch, comes to those sounds which, being intoned in ordinary speech, facilitate the formation of a new consonance. And I have done this not only to the end that the vocal delivery shall neither wound the ear (as if stumbling in meeting with repeated chords or too frequent consonances) nor seem, as it were, to dance to the movement of the bass, especially in sad or grave passages which naturally call for others in a more lively and rapid movement, but also to the end that the employment of dissonances shall diminish, or conceal that advantage which is increased by having to intone every note—an advantage of which ancient music may perhaps have had less need. And finally (though I dare not assert that this was the sort of singing done in the Greek and Roman plays), I

have deemed it the only sort that can be admissible in our music, by adapting itself to our speech.

Receive it, therefore, kindly, courteous readers, and, though I may not, this time, have reached the point I thought myself able to reach (regard for novelty having been a curb on my course), accept it graciously in every way. And perhaps it will come to pass on another occasion that I shall show you something more perfect than this. Meanwhile, I shall think to have done enough if I have opened the path for the talent of others, for them to walk in my footsteps to that glory to which it has not been given to me to attain. And I hope that my use of dissonances, played and sung discreetly, yet without timidity (having pleased so many and worthy men), will not trouble you; especially in the sad and grave airs of Orfeo, Arcetro, and Dafne—which part was taken with much grace by Iacopo Giusti, a young boy from Lucca. And may you live happy.⁴

The Success of the New Style

The style which Peri here describes achieved an immediate popularity under the name *stilo rappresentivo*. Historically, it includes the first example of what has since come to be called recitative, and, moreover, it was to be instrumental in making composers conscious of a completely new musical method, the monophonic. We have painstakingly traced the growth of polyphony, that type of music in which a harmonic texture is the result of the weaving together of independent voices. Here, as a result of the Renaissance theories of the camerata, a new method was given emphasis: a harmonic texture composed of one independent solo voice and a dependent chord accompaniment. Polyphony was the product of the Middle Ages, of a long slow evolution; the recognition of monophony was the immediate outgrowth of the impact of the Renaissance method upon music.

The monologue of Orfeo which begins with the words *Funeste piaggie* (Ye Dismal Hillsides) is characteristic of both Peri's

⁴ W. F. Apthorp, *The Opera Past and Present*.

method and achievement. The first few bars indicate the character of the vocal line as it recites above the very simple chord accompaniment.

EURIDICE "Funeste piaggie" ⁵

Molto sostenuto Peri

Fu-ne-ste piag-gie, om-bro-si or ri-di cam-pi, Che di stel-le o di

so-le Non ve-de-ste giam-mai scin-til-lee lam-pi etc.

By contrast with the contemporary madrigals, the whole texture of this music is indicative of an immense loss of purely musical technic. But the technic of polyphony was sacrificed to a purpose; Peri managed to achieve an amount of expression which justified his methods. The settings of the words *Ohimé* (Alas!) and *Misero* (wretched) are sufficient proof of the inherent vitality of those methods. Nothing is present in the texture of the music which disturbs the poignancy of the melodic droop at the points in question. At both occurrences of the *Ohimé* the clash of the seventh, approached by a skip in the bass, adds immensely to the whole effect. This harmonic progression should be compared with the beginning of Monteverde's madrigal "Cruda Amarilla," from which it undoubtedly was derived.

⁵ The bracketed parts in this and the following examples are a "realization." Peri wrote only the vocal line and the bass.

Con moto

Ohi - -mé, ohi - -mé che su l'av - ro - ra Giun-se a l'oc-ca-so

rall. - - a tempo

il sol - de-gli oc-chi mie - i. Mi - se - ro, Mi - se - ro!

rall. - - a tempo

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system is for the vocal part and a basso continuo. The vocal line is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo marking 'Con moto' is above the staff. The lyrics are 'Ohi - -mé, ohi - -mé che su l'av - ro - ra Giun-se a l'oc-ca-so'. The basso continuo is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The second system is also for the vocal part and a basso continuo. The tempo marking 'rall. - - a tempo' is above the staff. The lyrics are 'il sol - de-gli oc-chi mie - i. Mi - se - ro, Mi - se - ro!'. The vocal line continues in treble clef with the same key signature. The basso continuo continues in bass clef with the same key signature.

Peri's Orchestra

Peri's use of the orchestra was, as might be expected, rather primitive. The instruments used were a gravicembalo (harpsichord), a chitarrone (large lute with added bass strings), a lira grande (viol da gamba), and a liuto grosso (theorbo). No indications as to the parts that these instruments were to play is given in the music. Not even the chords were written out; the composer confined himself to writing the voice part and the bass. The short prologue will illustrate the simplicity of this method of composition. It is an early example of the figured bass which became so common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

five separately printed parts. The first alternative was to make a tablature. The second, approved by one writer because it spared the organist the necessity of having a "library as large as that of a lawyer" ⁶ was furnished by the general bass, or *basso generale*. It indicated two things: the bottom limit of the music, and the basic harmony. When the method was applied to monophonic music, it was at first the most primitive kind of procedure, but it had the eventual advantage of focusing the composer's attention upon the form of the lowest part of his music.

Instruments Used for Color

The one exception to this mode of instrumental treatment occurred when Peri scored three flutes in short instrumental passages called *ritornelli* which separated the verses of one of the solo songs. Because this is the germ of what was to become a universal procedure, its importance justifies an illustration. It is the earliest example of instruments being used for the dramatic suggestiveness of their tone color. The pastoral quality of the flute tone was obvious.

EURIDICE—"Nel puro ardor"

Peri

The musical score is for a piece titled "EURIDICE—'Nel puro ardor'" by Peri. It features five staves. The top three staves are for Flutes, indicated by a bracket on the left and the label "Flutes". The bottom two staves are for Voice (Tirsi) and Bass, indicated by labels on the left. The time signature is 3/4. The Flutes part is marked "Peri" at the top right. The Voice and Bass parts are marked with a "3" over the staff, indicating the time signature.

⁶ Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Vol. II, p. 75.

Flutes

Voice

Bass

Nel pu-ro ardor de

Flutes etc.

Voice etc.

la piu bel-la stel-la Au-rea fa-cel-la di bel fo-co accendi

Bass etc.

6 6

The Part of the Chorus

The music for the chorus was a simplification of the madrigal style but none the less polyphonic in conception. The monophonic method was not well enough understood to be substituted in the sections of the opera where the obvious method was polyphonic. The chorus not only sang but also danced. To the whole was added the accompaniment of the instruments which, in ensembles of this sort, simply doubled the voice parts.

The modesty with which Peri closed his preface to *Euridice* was not out of place. He was not a great composer; his work opened a new road which would be traveled by much greater men than he. *Euridice* presents more problems than it solves. The attempt to recreate Greek drama could not but fail. Peri, like

Columbus, failed to recognize the new continent that he had discovered.

Later Works of the Camerata

Caccini's setting of *Euridice*, which was published in 1600, more or less in competition to that of Peri, differed only in small details from Peri's work. It is noteworthy, however, that in Caccini's version the solo voice parts are slightly more florid than in Peri's. There is some reason to believe that even with the first opera the singers were allowed the licenses which became so common in later operas. The composer's vocal line served merely as the framework upon which the singer superimposed florid ornamentation almost at will. Caccini, who was a singing teacher, probably felt the necessity of enlivening the barren melodic outline of the early recitative and consequently made his voice parts more florid.

Some improvements in style are to be noted in the next important work of a member of the Camerata: Gagliano's *Dafne*, which appeared in 1608. Several instrumental passages are scored, the choruses are slightly more extensive than with either Peri and Caccini, and, most important of all, short tuneful moments begin to appear in the recitative. Thus began the process which eventually was to bring about a distinction between two descendants of the early *stilo rappresentativo*, the recitative and the aria.

Opera

The extent to which the new operatic form had engaged the enthusiasm of the early seventeenth century is reflected in Gagliano's preface to his *Dafne*: "A truly princely spectacle, and delightful beyond all others, being one in which are combined all the most noble oblectations such as contrivance and interest of plot, diction, style, mellifluous rhyme, musical art, the concert of voices and instruments, excellence in singing, grace in dancing and gesture; and it may also be said that painting plays therein no unimportant part, in matters of scenery and costume; so that the intellect and every noblest sentiment are fascinated at one and

the same moment by the most delectable arts ever devised by human genius."⁷

It must be remembered that these contemporary accounts of what was then known as *dramma per musica*—what has later come to be known as opera—were written by men who were so enamored with what they were doing that their judgment is not completely trustworthy regarding their own historical position. Actually, the performance of a drama with music was not new; it had been traditional in many Italian cities for centuries. Also, most of the other elements of early operatic music are to be found in isolated musical usages throughout Europe. In spite of these reservations, however, early opera was very shortly to be an "institution" through which popular taste would have a strong impact on the methods of composers.

Oratorio

Meanwhile Cavaliere had transplanted the method of the Camerata to Rome where its first product was not the opera but the oratorio. Cavaliere's *La rappresentazione dell' anima e del corpo* (The Representation of the Soul and the Body) was first performed in Rome in the year 1600. Cavaliere evidently died before his work was produced, but his preface gave remarkably complete stage directions. Both from these directions and from the music itself it appears that *La rappresentazione* was a work of as much pretension as *Euridice*. It differed in concept from Peri's work only in the fact that it was based on a religious story.

The dramatization of religious themes was at least as old as the medieval morality and miracle plays. Filippo Neri, who some few years before the beginning of the seventeenth century had founded the Congregation of the Oratorians, so called because its members met in the oratory of the church, introduced similar religious dramas, with a kind of incidental music, into his services. It soon became customary to call the dramatic performance an oratorio, from the part of the church in which it took place. Cavaliere's work, based on a religious drama of the old type, but

⁷ W. F. Apthorp, *op. cit.*

treated in the new manner musically, was actually a *dramma sacra per musica* with only the word *sacra* to distinguish it from Peri's *dramma per musica*. When it was performed in the oratory of Neri's church, it was immediately perceived to be the successor of the older type of performance; and it consequently inherited the name oratorio.

The first oratorio was a stage performance, with orchestra, scenery, costumes, chorus, and dancers. The orchestra was, with only minor variations, exactly like that employed by Peri. The preface indicates, however, that this small orchestra was reserved to accompany the songs, and that a larger instrumental group played the ritornelli and the choruses. The ritornelli were so written that they would serve for the dancers, who at such times were to dance, sometimes the galliarde and sometimes the courante. Cavaliere instructed the performers that before the prologue a madrigal, with full orchestral accompaniment, might serve as an overture.

A Foundation for Modern Music

The first years of the seventeenth century saw the beginnings of modern music, just as the last years of the sixteenth century had, in the attempts to modify the madrigal, witnessed the decline of the old music. The experiments in Paris, Mantua, Rome, and Florence had given a clear indication of the direction which musical art was to take. The foundations had been laid; it remained to erect the edifice.

Readings

Henry Prunières
Romain Rolland
W. J. Henderson
George Hogarth
W. J. Apthorp
R. A. Streatfeild
Annie W. Patterson
W. J. Henderson

Monteverdi
Some Musicians of Former Days
Some Forerunners of Italian Opera
Memoirs of the Music Drama
The Opera Past and Present
The Opera
The Story of the Oratorio
Early History of Singing

Joseph Goddard
Hermann Kretzschmar
Arnold Schering

The Rise and Development of Opera
Geschichte der Oper
Geschichte des Oratoriums

A. Parisotti *Anthology of Italian Song* (G. Schirmer)
Max Spicker *Voices of the Golden Age of Bel Canto* (G. Schirmer)

17

MONTEVERDE AND THE TRANSITION TO THE MODERN PERIOD

Monteverde Turns to Opera

THE SUCCESS of the *dramma per musica* made it, in the short period between the performances of Peri's *Euridice* and Gagliano's *Dafne*, the universally accepted medium for composers who were interested in the new musical humanism. Monteverde, who had already played an important part in the development of the new methods, turned to the new genre and brought to it not only his own idealism but also the craftsmanship and sensitivity of a really great composer.

Orfeo: Difference in Methods Between Monteverde and the Camerata

His career as a composer of operas began with the performance of *Orfeo* in Mantua, in the year 1607. In this work, which was unquestionably the masterpiece of the reform period, Monteverde adopted the outward forms of the Camerata, particularly the *stilo rappresentativo*, but in using them he applied the methods which

he himself had developed as the composer of the madrigals and the *scherzi musicali*.

The fundamental difference between the Florentines and Monteverde in their attempts to solve the problem of musical expression has been indicated in the previous chapter and may be stated very simply. The Camerata discarded the whole polyphonic technic and began again with a tentative monophony; Monteverde attempted new harmonic and rhythmic uses of the materials of the old technic. The members of the Camerata impoverished their musical resources; Monteverde enriched his. Monteverde carried with him this characteristic musical approach after he had adopted the monophonic style. His music did not obliterate itself before the text, as was too often the case with Peri and Caccini; it rather added its beauties to those of the text and, by the subtle welding which occurs only in the work of a great composer, produced a whole which is more expressive than the sum of its parts.

Description of "Orfeo"

The poem of *Orfeo*, based on the perennial legend which had given Rinuccini the material for Peri's *Euridice*, was divided into five acts and a prologue. The prologue begins with an instrumental toccata which immediately demonstrates Monteverde's conception of the dramatic orchestra. He uses thirty-six instruments: two harpsichords, two violins, ten viole da braccia, two viole da gamba, three bass viols, one double harp, two small organs, one regal, two chittaroni, one piccolo, two cornetts (a wood-wind instrument blown not with a reed but with a mouthpiece), one small trumpet, three mute trumpets, and four sackbuts. The prologue and first act depict the gaiety of the wedding of Orpheus and Euridice: recitative, chorus, ballet, all interspersed with instrumental ritornelli. It is important to notice that the orchestral music is cast in the accepted instrumental forms of the time—the toccata and the ricercare. Hints of Monteverde's experiments with the rhythmic materials introduced by the musicians of Baïf's *Académie du palais* are evident.

In the second act, Orpheus, separated for the time from Euridice, has returned to his native country. The act opens with Orpheus' song "Ecco pur ch'a voi ritorno" in which he sings of

the peace which he feels at being at home. This short song illustrates the immense difference between Peri's recitative and Monteverde's melodic line. It is not true recitative, and its broad melodic sweep forecasts the lyric aria. Tonally it is characteristic of the progress which was being made toward the understanding of key structure. Despite the fact that its shortness precludes its ever being used as a formal model, its closely knit structure is nevertheless indicative of Monteverde's instinctive feeling for the quality which was the greatest need of the new monophonic music—concise form.

Non troppo lento ¹

Ec - co pur ch'a voi ri - tor - no ca - re sel -

- vee piag - ge a - ma - te da quel sol fat - te be -

a - te per cui sol — mie not - t'han - gior - no

¹ Quoted from the Malipiero edition of Monteverde's *Complete Works: Orfeo*, p. 41. The right hand of the piano part is, of course, a realization by Monteverde's editor.

Ec-co pur ch'a voi ri - tor - no Ec - co pur — ch'a voi ri - tor - no

Note in this connection the similarity of the bass at the beginning of each phrase, and the fact that the last phrase is a repetition of the first. The whole effect of this song, introducing as it does the act in which Orpheus learns of the death of Euridice, is well calculated to forebode action and mood which are to be in distinct contrast to the previous act.

When the death of Euridice is announced to Orpheus, his reaction to the news is couched in twenty-two measures of powerfully expressive recitative. Because it gives a clear insight into Monteverde's use of the *stilo rappresentativo* it will be quoted here in full:

Largo
Orfeo

Tu — se' mor-ta Se' mor-ta mia vi -

Un organo
di legno
e un
chitarone

ta ed io respi - ro, tu se' da me par-ti - ta

se' da me par - ti - ta per mai piu,

mai piu non tor-na-re ed io ri-man - go, no, no,

Che se i ver - si al - cu - na co - sa pon - no,

u'an - drò si - cu - ro a piu pro - fon - dia - vis - si

e in - te - ne - ri - to il cor — del Re de l'om - bre

me-co trar-rot-ti a ri-ve-der le stel-le O se cio ne-ghe-

rammi em-pio de-sti-no, ri-mar-ro te-co in com-pag-nia

di mor-te a dio ter-ra a dio cie-lo e So-le, a Di o.

Here the recitative imitates the intonation of impassioned speech. Almost every phrase enters falteringly upon a weak part of the measure. The quickness of the notes follows the speed with which the syllables would be spoken. Harmonically, too, Monteverde uses every means at his command. A close scrutiny of the bass and the vocal line will show almost unbelievable dissonances. Measures 6, 7, and 8 are characteristic.

Many more interesting details² of this first *great* opera could be given. Monteverde's use of one phrase of his opening ritornello as a kind of "leading motive," the astounding coloratura vocal writing, the many orchestral passages in true instrumental style, all these contribute to make this work stand out not only as a

² Prunières, in his work on Monteverde, gives an interesting analysis of the whole opera.

monument in the field of early opera, but as the first landmark of modern music.

The "Lament" of Arianna: Dissonance

Monteverde's next opera was a setting of Rinuccini's *Arianna*, which was performed at Mantua in 1608. Unfortunately all of this work has been lost except one fragment, the "Lament," which achieved so remarkable a popularity that a number of copies of it were made. In this "Lament" Monteverde surpassed even the best passages of *Orfeo*. It is still the *stilo rappresentativo*, but the hard contours of that style have completely disappeared, to be replaced by a type of monophonic writing which has not only the utmost expressive value but a distinct structural coherence. This fragment should be studied in detail. The phrases fall naturally into a form similar to that found in the song at the beginning of Act II of *Orfeo*. But much more important than the formal aspect is the expressive method.

The song occurs in as poignant a dramatic setting as can well be imagined. Theseus has left Arianna marooned on a deserted island, and she bemoans both her fate and her lover. "Let me die! let me die! That you desire for me this cruel destiny, this supreme martyrdom, is my only comfort. Let me die!" In measures 2, 5, 11, 15, and 18 note the unprepared discords. Examine carefully the whole harmony of measure 13, where the *b* of the melody, already a dissonance approached by skip, is suspended as a ninth over the *a-c-e* chord. There is nothing tentative about this method. Monteverde uses it with the assurance that it will achieve his purpose.

LAMENT from *Arianna*

Monteverde

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system is a vocal line with the lyrics "La - scia - - te - mi mo - ri - re!" and "La - scia - te - mi mo -". The second system is a piano accompaniment. The score is marked with a 'V' and a 'C' above the first system, and a 'V' and a 'C' above the second system. The piano accompaniment features a prominent dissonance in measure 13, where the melody's B is suspended as a ninth over the A-C-E chord.

ri - re E che vo - le - te_ voi — che mi con - for - te

B
In co-si du - ra sor - te in co-si gran mar - ti - re? La -

A
scia - te - mi mo-ri - re! La-scia-te - mi. mo - ri - re

Monteverde at Venice

In 1613 Monteverde was appointed master of the chapel at St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice, the post which had been occupied by so many brilliant composers during the sixteenth century. Although, for the rest of his life, Monteverde was responsible for the sacred music of the cathedral, he by no means lost his interest in the opera. Venice became, in fact, the center of the new movement, and the younger composers crowded there to be under Monteverde's tutelage.

The Venetian Operas: The Orchestra

Many of the works which Monteverde composed for Venice have been lost. *Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*, a combat in music, which appeared in 1624, is a powerful example of Monteverde's apparent willingness to attempt almost any sort of musical delineation. The battle between Tancred and Clorinda is staged on horseback. A character called the "Text" declaims the circumstances, and the two principal actors indicate their intentions in the *stilo rappresentativo*. The chief historical interest in this work is in regard to the details of the orchestration. It is scored for four stringed instruments and a figured bass. The instrumental parts are quite independent of the voices and furnish a moving background to the action. Near the beginning, in a movement marked *moto del cavallo*, the instruments imitate the galloping of horses. But, more important, Monteverde's imagination led him to include in his score two instrumental effects which have been a part of the orchestral "bag of tricks" of every operatic composer since—the string tremolando and pizzicato. A very short part of the battle scene will serve to illustrate:

The musical score is presented in five staves. The first four staves are for the string ensemble, labeled 'Strings' on the left. They are arranged in two pairs: the top two staves are Treble Clef (Violins) and the bottom two are Bass Clef (Violas and Cellos/Double Basses). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The strings play a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, with some measures featuring tremolos (indicated by vertical lines through the notes) and pizzicato (indicated by a 'p' in a circle). The fifth staff is for the vocal parts, labeled 'Testo (Text)' and 'Basso Continuo' on the left. The vocal part is in Treble Clef and includes the lyrics: 'stret - ta si fa la pu - gna • spa - da o - prar non'. The Basso Continuo part is in Bass Clef and consists of a single note with a long, sweeping slur underneath it, indicating a sustained bass line.

pizz

pizz

pizz

pizz

etc.

gio - va. Dan si co' po mi e in fel - lo - ni - ti e cru - di etc.

Public Opera Houses

During the last twenty years of Monteverde's life the popularity of the opera increased amazingly. The semiprivate performances no longer sufficed; finally, in 1637, the first public opera house was opened in Venice, the Teatro San Cassiano, followed almost immediately by a second, the Teatro San Marco. *Arianna* was revived, and Monteverde, now an old man, wrote two new operas for public performance: *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria*, in 1641, and *L'incoronazione de Poppea*, in 1642. His great contributions, however, had already been made, and although the later operas contain much that is characteristic, and even brilliant, the torch was soon to be passed to other hands.

Monteverde's Contributions

The opera as Monteverde inherited it from the members of the Camerata was a new invention which had become popular partly because of its brilliant trappings. Musically, while the germ of

great things was undoubtedly present, the immediate innovation was hardly more than heightened speech. In other words, the *stilo rappresentativo* was at first little else than a method for using musical notation to depict the intonation of impassioned declamation. That, in itself, could hardly have produced genuine opera, because it did not achieve musical completeness. Monteverde indicated the direction in which that musical completeness was to be sought, and in his own operas he achieved it to a remarkable degree. Without the work of Monteverde the Camerata might never have had more than local importance and influence. He synthesized the results of the whole movement, and in so doing not only created permanently valuable works of art, but was largely instrumental in providing the impetus which made the opera one of the great traditional musical forms.

Monteverde's contributions were the direct result of the desire, on the part of a great composer, to give vital musical expression to human emotions. They may be summarized as follows:

1. The increased use of unprepared discords, the most important of which was the minor seventh over a major third. This single chord had results much more far-reaching than its early users imagined. Monteverde used it for its expressive value, but it became, within a generation after his death, the means of clarifying key-relationship and thus finally destroying altogether the ancient and severely strained modal system.

2. The application of formal structure to monophonic music. Here Monteverde was working completely in the dark. The very nature of monophony made the use of the polyphonic devices impossible. Monteverde substituted for them what later became fundamental to monophonic form, regularity and repetition of phrase. This formal development eventually led to a complete differentiation between recitative and lyric, formal melody (aria). The beginning of the process is clearly perceptible in the approximation to formal melody which was observed in the "Lament" of Arianna.

3. The development of the dramatic function of the orchestra, under which may be listed:

- (a) the use of an orchestral prelude,
- (b) a use of instruments which recognized their capacities; in other words, Monteverde discerned true instrumental style.

In the broad picture of European civilization for the fifty years each side of 1600 (remember Monteverde's dates—1568 to 1643) Monteverde must represent in the history of music the same spirit of impatience with the past and adventurous interest in the possibilities of the future which are to be found in other activities of the time. During Monteverde's life many of the important settlements were begun in America; the microscope, the telescope, and the thermometer were invented; the English destroyed the Spanish Armada; mathematicians developed the logarithmic tables. The tools and methods of modern life were rapidly being fashioned; even the map of Europe began to display its modern characteristics. Monteverde may not have been aware of all of these momentous things, but his music demonstrates that he was motivated by the same spirit which produced them.

In understanding the relationship between Monteverde and the future, one event which occurred during his lifetime may be taken as a guide: the opening to the public of the Teatro San Cassiano, in Venice, in 1637 followed soon after by a new theater almost every year. Monteverde was called to Venice to become director of the music in the cathedral; his important compositions were secular operas. The process of secularization had been going on for a century; now the fruit not only of that secularization but of the search for new expressiveness was to become the joy of the sensation-loving public. The opera found itself in very much the same position as the present "talkie." An idealist easily discerns the magnificent artistic possibilities of that invention. And a Monteverde may have appeared to create a few early masterpieces. But eventually the "box office" must dictate to the artist. He must see and hear his production through the eyes and ears of the audience. The early opera was just as dependent upon a paying audience as the present "talkie." Not often did the Royal House of France make an alliance with the Medicis, or a Prince of Mantua marry a Princess of Savoy; and the opera demanded an

outlay that kings could afford only in celebration of such occasions. But the public could pay for whatever entertainment it liked, and it liked the opera. Composers began to listen through the ears of their audiences.

Readings

Henry Prunières	<i>Monteverdi</i>	
Romain Rolland	<i>Some Musicians of Former Days</i>	
George Hogarth	<i>Memoirs of the Music Drama</i>	
W. J. Apthorp	<i>The Opera Past and Present</i>	
R. A. Streatfeild	<i>The Opera</i>	
Joseph Goddard	<i>The Rise and Development of Opera</i>	
Hermann Kretzschmar	<i>Geschichte der Oper</i>	
F. Malipiero	<i>The Complete Works of Monteverde</i>	(Universal)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN OPERA

Cavalli

THE MOST important of the many operatic composers who were the immediate followers of Monteverde was Pietro Francesco Cavalli.¹ Cavalli was born near Venice about 1600, and died there in 1676. He received his training wholly under the guidance of Monteverde. As a youth he was a singer in the choir at St. Mark's Cathedral, and later became, in succession, organist of the second organ (1640), organist of the first organ (1665), and master of the chapel (1668). He began writing

¹ His real name was Caletti-Bruni.

for the theater in 1637, soon after the opening of the Teatro San Cassiano. The opera which made him the most famous composer of his time was *Giasone*, first performed in Venice in 1649. In all he composed forty-two works for the stage. Cavalli was not only the leading figure in the development of the opera in Italy, but was instrumental in transplanting it to France. He was twice called to Paris, once in 1660 when his opera *Serse* was performed as part of the celebration of the marriage of Louis XIV, and again in 1662, when his *Ercole amante* was performed at the Louvre.

A Transitional Phase

Cavalli's music, in so far as it is known, is indicative of a transitional phase: an attempt to follow the histrionic idealism of Monteverde, but at the same time to cultivate the clarity and simplicity and lyric beauty which would satisfy the demands of the audience. The whole problem of the opera as an art form is inherent in this seeming dilemma, and no composer of the seventeenth century had at his command the means for its solution. To have continued in the histrionic direction which Monteverde so clearly indicated might have led theoretically within a comparatively short time to a type of music drama in which the purpose of the music was purely expressive. Actually and practically it would have led to musical chaos; music was not ready for any such development. Consequently the direction which Cavalli took was not merely the easy one, but was the only one which would not have been fatal to the opera. It eventually led far away from the expressive ideals of the Camerata and Monteverde, but it resulted in an increased formal and rhetorical technic which was of inestimable value to later generations of composers. Cavalli, then, is the first composer of the transition from the work of Monteverde to the highly formalized opera of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Popular Appeal of Opera

To the audiences of the time the opera appealed increasingly as a medium through which singers could display their vocal

powers, and as a marvelous stage spectacle. To the Venetians, whose yearly ceremony in which the Doge wedded Venice to the sea was perhaps the most brilliant pageant to be seen in Christendom, it was natural that the pageantry of the stage should have an immediate appeal. John Evelyn, who visited Venice just after the middle of the century, wrote: "This night . . . we went to the opera, where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative music, by the most excellent musicians, vocal and instrumental, with variety of scenes painted and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the air, and other wonderful notions; taken together it is one of the most magnificent and expressive diversions the wit of man can invent."² This evidence of taste, in which Cavalli and his contemporaries no doubt joined, had the obvious result of increasing the strength and brilliance of the parts given to the singers with the consequent weakening of all other musical aspects.

Strength of vocal parts meant not only giving singers more opportunity for displaying their virtuosity, but also increasing the tunefulness of the music itself. With the increased stress on lyric quality the division between recitative and aria which had been hinted by Monteverde became clearer. Operatic text has a double function. It must tell the story and it must convey poetically the emotional background of the story. As the opera developed it became clear that the practical way to serve such a dual function was to make a distinct division between narrative and lyric text. This distinction, carried over into music, eventually made necessary the two separate forms of monophonic vocal line: the recitative, which became purely narrative recitation to music, and the aria, which became the lyric, emotionally expressive, and highly melodic song. Better to meet this special function the aria began to take on its characteristic rhythmic and formal qualities. Cavalli's formal organization did not reach, but it made progress toward the later three-part, or ternary aria, form. His usual method was to set several verses to the same music, framing each verse with an orchestral ritornello, and modulating from the original key at the beginning to related keys for the intermediate verses with a final return to the original key at the last verse. An alternate method

² John Evelyn's *Diary*, Everyman's Edition, Vol. I, p. 202.

was to divide the music of each verse into two contrasting sections, thus making the whole aria a succession of small two-part, or binary, forms.

The Function of the Orchestra

As a corollary to Cavalli's increased attention to the vocal aspect of the opera his use of the orchestra became more perfunctory. It was important from an evolutionary standpoint that the strings, with the harpsichord realizing the figured bass, began to be accepted as the center around which the orchestral treatment revolved, but the whole function of the orchestra became that of mere accompaniment, with little or no attention given to the dramatic possibilities of instrumental color. The audiences ceased to listen to the prelude; consequently any effort in the direction of making it a preparation for the dramatic action was wasted. Cavalli apparently sought, in formal organization, a formula which would make the overture, or opening *Sinfonia*, as it was called, a "curtain raiser" with the least possible effort on his part. His overture consisted of a slow section followed by a faster, dancelike part. It became, with some alterations, the model for the later French, or Lullian Overture.

The Importance of Cavalli's Work

It has been almost habitual with historians of music to list the improvements which Cavalli made by comparing his work to that of Monteverde. In so doing they have had to refer to Monteverde's "crude methods" which resulted in "weird harmonies, forced progressions, and strange intervals"—exactly the aspects which make his music attractive to the twentieth-century musician. Cavalli, in as far as he followed the lead of his master in regard to musical expression, sought less the startling effect than persistence of mood. When this ideal was combined with his attempts always to write pleasingly (with regard to the taste of the audience) the natural result was a style which was smoother than that of Monteverde. That smoothness led to the characteristic lyricism

of later Italian opera, a quality which depended upon a suave handling of melodic and harmonic phrase structure as a means to a formal end. But the final result was not music which was more expressive than Monteverde's, but just the opposite: music in which structural formulas were substituted for expression. Because those structural formulas were a necessary addition to musical resources, the aspects of Cavalli's music which led to them may with justice be called improvements. But expressively, Cavalli's music marks the beginning of a long decline away from the high point reached by Monteverde.

Carissimi

Giacomo Carissimi (1604?-1674) was perhaps even more representative of the whole trend of Italian musical development than Cavalli. He was a Roman, both by birth and training, and after a few years in Assisi as choir master he returned to Rome, where the remainder of his life was spent.

In describing the state of musical development in Italy during the seventeenth century it is necessary to emphasize the growth of the opera. But in Carissimi we meet a composer of importance whose influence made itself felt in the field of opera, but who himself wrote no operas. He devoted his energies chiefly to the oratorio and to a related form, the so-called *cantata*, and in so doing he united with those characteristics of the new music which had become an integral part of both opera and oratorio the expected devotion of the Roman composer to the thorough musicianship which was such an integral part of the sixteenth-century Roman School.

The Emergence of Tonality

As a composer, Carissimi evinced a remarkable instinct for orderliness, with regard both to harmonic propriety and musical form. In his music the tonality of key, at least in its diatonic implications, became a realized fact, and the doom of the old ecclesiastic modes was sealed. The principle which is fundamental to

all monophonic form—repetition after contrast, of which we have had hints from as far back as the *rondet di carol* of the Troubadours, finally became the accepted basis for structure. The solo cantata, which was simply a solo song with figured bass, a new chamber-music genus which developed naturally out of the new monophonic method, furnished Carissimi his best medium for displaying the well-ordered formal structure. The well-known "Vittoria, mio core"³ is a concise A-B-A-B-A form. It exhibits, too, Carissimi's interest in florid vocal passages and his absolutely clear understanding of key. All these factors produce a vocal line which is decidedly modern in contrast both to the music of the sixteenth-century polyphonists and the early seventeenth-century operatic reformers.

The Oratorio

The oratorio, from the time of Cavaliere until Carissimi's earliest works in that form, had received scant attention from composers of merit. The reason is not clear, but it may be supposed that an entertainment on the scale of Cavaliere's *Rappresentation* was beyond the resources of most churches. The form became more available, however, when the trappings of a stage setting and action were eliminated and the greater part of the music given to the chorus. These changes took place during Carissimi's lifetime, owing largely to his new method of writing for the chorus.

A New Style

One of the most interesting aspects of a period like the middle half of the seventeenth century is the interaction between the two dominant methods. It was inevitable that the new methods should be applied to old forms, and that the old methods should also be applied to the new forms. The attempts to modernize the madrigal resulted in its destruction. The attempt to apply the contrapuntal methods of the madrigal and motet to the choral requirements of the oratorio did not, however, destroy those

³ See Schirmer's *Anthology of Italian Songs*, Vol. I, p. 3.

methods as much as it changed them to meet the requirements of the new conceptions of melody, harmony, and rhythm. The old and invaluable polyphonic technic was retained as a foundation for the new structure.

The rhythmic ideal of the old polyphony required extreme independence between parts. The result was to produce a texture which had, as a whole, no definite rhythmic quality, but was rather a shimmering web of rhythms which contradicted and counteracted each other. The new polyphony, on the other hand, sacrificed some of the independence between parts for the new rhythmic straightforwardness. What the single voice lost in individuality was compensated by the achievement of a positive rhythm for the whole. The new choral music was often strophic in its rhythmic simplicity and regularity. The last vestiges of the medieval rhythmic modes disappeared and were replaced, not only in solo song, but in polyphonic music as well, by the bar-line division with its connotation of the regular recurrence of strong and weak beats.

The old polyphony developed its laws contiguously with the growth of modal harmony. Those laws governed what may be called modal counterpoint. Between 1600 and 1650 the new music was instrumental in completing the revolution from the old modal to the new tonal understanding of harmonic structure. Thus when the laws of counterpoint began to be applied to music based on the new harmonic concepts, a revision was necessary; the result was a new kind of counterpoint, best described by the word tonal. Tonal counterpoint, then, replaced modal counterpoint, and became the foundation for the new type of polyphony which had already changed its rhythmic principles.

The new style of melodic line of which examples may be found in the works of Carissimi was both a cause and an effect of the other changes which were being wrought in musical texture. The conditions of the new music, which gave an immensely increased importance to the solo melody, brought about, as has already been indicated, the discovery of new melodic principles. The use of the new melody in a polyphonic fabric was undoubtedly a partial cause for the rhythmic and harmonic changes; these changes, in turn, reacted upon the melodic outline, producing

finally a polyphonic melody which exhibited the new phrase structure and which was straightforward rhythmically and logical tonally.

The importance of these changes in the conception of polyphony must not be overshadowed by the more spectacular revolution achieved by the operatic composers from Peri to Cavalli. Only through such re juxtaposition as was effected by Carissimi and his contemporaries⁴ of like inclination, could the old materials be made available for the new style. The reform which the Camerata initiated was accompanied by an impoverishment of technical resources, an impoverishment which continued until the old technic was refashioned and made available for new purposes.

The Oratorio Tradition

Because Carissimi was a composer of oratorios, his methods gave an immense impetus to that form. With a few changes, the oratorios which are now current have been modeled on his conceptions in respect to the content and method of treatment. Perhaps the most interesting tradition to which the works of Carissimi gave rise was that which made the choruses of the oratorio the setting for a certain amount of realistic and descriptive writing. Passages, and even whole choruses, were devoted to musical effects similar to the madrigalisms of the sixteenth century. Because the oratorio was a semidramatic form this practice had more justification than in the madrigal; it vitalized the chorus as no other device could have done, and later played no small part in maintaining the interest which composers felt for the oratorio.

Cavalli and Carissimi died within two years of each other, at the beginning of the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Since the death of Monteverde in 1643, they had made important contributions to the development of the new music. With Cavalli the tendency had been toward formalization, and with Carissimi toward both formalization and a modernization of the old polyphonic technic. About the middle of the century, the work of still

⁴ Stefano Landi (1590?-1655?), Domenico Mazzocchi (1590?-1650?), Luigi Rossi (1598-1653), Giovanni Legrenzi (1625?-1690).

another composer, Antonio Cesti (1620?-1669), began to exert an influence.

Singer's Opera: Cesti

Cesti was a pupil of Carissimi, and as such he seems immediately to have grasped the details of his master's method, particularly with regard to tonal and rhythmic treatment. Cesti was, however, an operatic composer; consequently he devoted less effort to the choral aspect of Carissimi's work and more to the writing for solo voice. It may be stated, then, that Cesti applied the advances made by Carissimi to the opera. In Cesti's operas, the most famous of which was *Orontea*, the tendency toward lyricism—toward placing the importance on pleasing, smooth-flowing melody, at the expense of intensity of expression—is even more perceptible than in the works of Cavalli and Carissimi. The opera was moving, in both form and style, closer to what might be called a "singer's opera." The singer, and with him the audience, desired nothing so much as melody; plot and truth of expression might be sacrificed to it with no great feeling of loss. To those who sympathize with the idealism of the camerata and Monteverde, consolation for the apparent postponement of the realization of those ideals is to be found in the fact that the opera continued to be the important laboratory in which the monophonic forms were developing, in which the modern orchestra gradually was being discovered, and in which, most important of all, a style was being evolved which was a combination of both the monophonic and polyphonic methods. Throughout the first three-quarters of the seventeenth century Venice and Rome continued to be the centers of the new music. Venice was devoted to the opera, while in Rome the devices of the new music were being increasingly applied to the oratorio and the smaller chamber forms of which the cantata was most representative. Because the period was dominated by Venetian opera, it may be said, with some justice, that a Venetian School of opera existed. The whole period must be regarded, however, as one of experimentation. The whole operatic form was subjected to so many diverse influences, with their consequent unsettled artistic ideals and unstable styles, that

no accepted criterion of taste had been reached. Certain methods, such as the use of the figured bass and the differentiation between aria and recitative, had become a part of the common usage, but the period of transitional experimentation cannot be said to have ended until the appearance of the mature works of Alessandro Scarlatti, who became not only the central figure of a new Neapolitan School, but also was the composer who finally achieved the complete formalization toward which his predecessors had been slowly gravitating.

The Neapolitan School: Provenzale and Stradella

That the next important Italian school of operatic composition should appear in Naples was not as strange as may at first appear. The Neapolitans, like the residents of every large Italian city, had evinced an enthusiastic interest in the new *dramma per musica*. More important, however, was the fact that four orphan asylums, founded during the sixteenth century, had become music schools, devoted to the training of composers, singers, and instrumentalists. The *Conservatorios*,⁵ as they were called, gave an immense impetus to musical activity, and became the models for like institutions all over Europe. Naples, even before Scarlatti's time, had produced some composers of note, chief among whom were Francesco Provenzale and Alessandro Stradella (1645?-1681). Stradella's name is one of the best known among all the seventeenth-century composers, principally because he was murdered under peculiarly romantic circumstances. If geographical proximity were to be accepted as the only basis for grouping composers into schools, both Provenzale and Stradella could be said to be predecessors of Scarlatti in the new Neapolitan School.

Alessandro Scarlatti

Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725) combined in the person of one composer the whole heritage of the Italian operatic tradition as it

⁵ Santa Maria di Loreto, founded 1535; San Onofrio a Capuana, founded 1576; De' Poveri di Gesu Cristo, founded 1589; Della Pietà de' Turchini, founded 1584.

had developed from the Camerata. Almost nothing is known of his early life and training. Tradition and conjecture have made him a pupil of Carissimi, who, it must be remembered, died at an advanced age when Scarlatti was not more than fifteen. Scarlatti's early compositions clearly indicate, however, that he had assimilated the methods of all of his predecessors; when the musical investigator first meets him, he is a full-fledged composer, a favorite at the Roman establishment of the Swedish Queen Christina, and a composer of the successful opera *Gli equivoci nel sembiante*.

Aria and Overture Forms

In 1684 Scarlatti removed from Rome to Naples, where he remained until 1702. The Neapolitan period produced the crystallization of the methods and style which were to be accepted as the normal procedure for later Italian operas. E. J. Dent, in speaking of this period, says: "These eighteen years, though they do not represent the best period of Scarlatti's production, are of the greatest importance for his own career and for the history of music generally, since the encouragement that he received at Naples, in spite of obvious disadvantages, enabled him to develop his style steadily in one direction in a way that he could never have done under other circumstances."⁶ The "obvious disadvantages" under which Scarlatti worked at Naples were largely characteristic of the time in which he lived: the insistence of a decadent court and pleasure-loving populace that they dictate to the creative artist in matters of taste. It must not be forgotten that the influence which began to make itself felt immediately upon the opening of the first public opera in Venice was in a sense responsible for the progress which the seventeenth century made toward clarity and conciseness of musical architecture; consequently it is not surprising that Scarlatti's achievements were in that direction. His Neapolitan operas fixed the forms of the aria and overture, began the differentiation between the two kinds of recitative which characterized all eighteenth-century opera, eliminated, for the time, the chorus from the opera, and, through the treatment of the

⁶ E. J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*.

comedy characters, established a type which anticipated the *opera buffa* (comic opera).

Scarlatti's predecessors, as has already been indicated, had accomplished the fundamental differentiation between recitative and aria. They also had approached a logical formal structure for the aria. It remained for Scarlatti to fix a logical form and give it the value of a formula. The form which he evolved has come to be known as the *da capo* aria form, which is represented by the formula A B A, and which was simply an application of the old principle, repetition after contrast. It may be seen in miniature in the lovely arietta "O cessate di piagarmi"⁷ from the opera *Pompeo*, one of Scarlatti's earliest works (1683). The first section, clearly in E minor, is followed by a section of contrasting subject matter ending in G major, after which the first section, both music and text, is repeated. The dimensions of this form could be enlarged to meet the requirements of almost any dramatic situation. The repetition of the first section was popular with singers because it gave them a magnificent opportunity for extemporizing embellishments above the composer's original fabric. The formula was approved by composers because it seemed to settle the formal problems with which they had been struggling.

Scarlatti's overture, known as the Italian overture to distinguish it from the form which developed in France, was the result of considerable experimentation on his part. Not until 1696, in the opera *Dal male il buono* did he finally achieve the form which he afterward used almost without exception. The final form consisted of three rather short movements, built around subject matter which had no vital connection with the main body of the opera. The first movement was quick and lively, and usually treated fugally, although it must be remarked that Scarlatti's polyphony rarely consisted of more than two parts. The middle section was slow, and the overture ended with a rapid movement of dance character. The Italian overture is important historically because it was a step in the development which led eventually to the eighteenth-century symphony.

⁷ See Schirmer's *Anthology of Italian Songs*, Vol. I, p. 20.

New Types of Recitative

The other changes in the opera for which Scarlatti was responsible are of importance largely because they led to a better understanding of a type of operatic performance which has long since disappeared. First of these was the differentiation between two kinds of recitative. When the recitative and aria first grew out of the early monophonic melodic line, the orchestral accompaniment was retained for the aria, but it became the practice to accompany the recitative with only the harpsichord. Recitative accompanied in such manner became known as *recitativo secco*.⁸ Scarlatti re-established the use of the orchestra with the recitative, and thus introduced a type of recitative which is still current, the *recitativo stromentato*. The new recitative added to the function of the orchestra and gave some impetus to its development.

Virtuosi: Chorus

The opera had become, by the time Scarlatti went to Naples, predominantly a medium through which singers demonstrated their vocal powers to a sensation-loving audience. With such a great emphasis on the individual *virtuoso*,⁹ the chorus rapidly became superfluous, and as the librettos gradually degenerated from operatic versions of the classics to depictions of the most melodramatic sort of love intrigue, the dramatic necessity for a chorus ceased to exist. Thus, at almost the time when the chorus was given an increasingly important part in the oratorio, it was disappearing altogether from the opera. Concerted pieces were retained, but they were in no sense choral. The method was to divide among several voices what might easily have served as an aria for a single voice.

⁸ Meager, or dry, recitative.

⁹ The application of this word to performing artists, particularly to singers, was one of the polite if not altogether truthful gestures of the late seventeenth-century public.

Opera Buffa

The comic characters which had become a conventionalized part of the serious opera had developed from the traditional *com-media dell' arte* or comedy of masks. Their inclusion in the opera was the necessary step between the old comedy and the *opera buffa* of the eighteenth century. Scarlatti was not responsible for the presence of the comedy characters—that was an addition which had been made by earlier Neapolitan composers—but his treatment of them in the scenes which they regularly had to themselves formed the transition to the comic opera.

Scarlatti's Importance

After 1702 Scarlatti went to northern Italy, where he composed for Rome, Florence, Urbino, and Venice. Freed from the Neapolitan atmosphere, the quality of his operas improved, and some of them show a breadth of melody, grasp of musical characterization, and a harmonic and instrumental mastery which place Scarlatti unquestionably as a truly great composer. In spite of the fact that he may be blamed for aiding in the process which reduced operatic composition to formulas, he also deserves to be acknowledged as the predecessor of the great classic school which arose in the north later in the eighteenth century. Although some of Scarlatti's music is highly dramatic, his whole tendency was toward an enrichment of the purely musical aspect of the opera. The forms which he bequeathed to his followers were not dramatic but musical forms. The style of which he was a master was likewise not dramatic but musical, although his ability to write melodies as satisfying as that of the arietta mentioned above was an immense asset to the opera. His influence was so strong, however, that those things which with him had been largely spontaneous, became with later composers what one writer calls the "strait-jacket of convention." The opera was fast becoming a concert in which the performers sang in costume on a decorated stage and in which the numbers on the program were held together by the flimsiest attempt at a plot.

Although Venetians and Romans continued to write opera after opera, and Venice remained the city of opera houses, the amalgamation which had been taking place made the Neapolitan School, with Alessandro Scarlatti as its leader, the setting for the highest development of the opera during the seventeenth century and the medium through which the whole accumulation of methods, technics, and traditions was transmitted to the eighteenth century.

Operatic Conventions

One question with regard to Scarlatti's operas (and it applies equally to most of the operatic works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) needs to be answered. Why, in view of the fact that they contain so much that is worthy of admiration, are they no longer performed? A complete answer to that question would necessitate a much more searching comparison of seventeenth- and twentieth-century dramatic ideals and literary taste than is desirable in a history of music, but an answer may be attempted, none the less, on purely musical grounds. The Italian singers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who very soon subjected the whole of Europe to their art, dictated the vocal writing. This dictation took a curious direction, in that it eventually had the effect of discouraging the composer from writing anything but an outline of the melodic line he expected the singer to sing. Both the training of the singer and the taste of the public tended toward a more and more highly *improvised* vocal line, an improvisation based on the composer's outline. Thus the manuscript remains of many of these operas give very little indication of what the performer actually sang. The male parts, moreover, were sung almost exclusively by singers whose voices were artificially heightened and sustained—the so-called *castrati*. Consequently whole operas were written, both male and female parts, for soprano and contralto voices. Thus the male parts are impossible for modern singers; the flexibility of the artificial voice was such that even were the music to be transposed it would be beyond the executive capacity of the tenor or bass voice.

Leave must now be taken of opera in Italy to trace its trans-

plantation and development in the other nations of Europe, where it became, in all cases, a powerful influence.

Readings

George Hogarth

E. J. Dent

Leo Smith

W. J. Apthorp

Romain Rolland

Fullerton Waldo

R. A. Streatfeild

W. J. Henderson

F. T. Arnold

Joseph Goddard

Hermann Kretschmar

Arnold Schering

Memoirs of the Music Drama

Alessandro Scarlatti

Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The Opera Past and Present

Some Musicians of Former Days

Early Italian and French Opera

The Opera

Early History of Singing

The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough Bass

The Rise and Development of Opera

Geschichte der Oper

Geschichte des Oratoriums

19

THE BEGINNINGS OF OPERA IN FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND GERMANY

Northern Interest in Italian Art

EVEN before a Venetian organist¹ had captivated the London court of the youthful Henry VIII, and Cellini and Primaticcio had been secured to decorate the new palace of Francis I at Fontainebleau, Europe had looked to Italy for leadership in music and art. Both because of that fact and because the newly invented opera was in itself attractive, it is not surprising

¹ Sebastian Giustiniani, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.*

that the seventeenth century should witness the adoption of opera by the northern musical centers. The story is not, however, one which details a simple transplantation; in the process each country made adaptations which, from the standpoint of future musical development, must be taken into account.

France: The Court Ballet

In France, the fact that before a national operatic type developed, the Italian method was modified by the impact of the court ballet, makes necessary some consideration of the earlier form. The dramatic ballet was the highest development of a type of diversion which was inseparably a part of French court life. It represented, as no other form of art could, the taste of the reigning class. The most remarkable performance of this sort took place during the reign of Henry III, in 1581. It was produced by an Italian string player who was *valet de chambre* to Catherine de' Medici, one Baltazarini. In the *Ballet de la reine*, as this particular ballet was called, poetry, music, dancing, and dramatic action were associated in a manner which was miraculously close to the operatic venture for which the Florentines were making experiments during the same decade. Had Baltazarini continued in the same direction to the discovery of the recitative, it is altogether possible that true opera might have been invented in two places at once. But the expense of one such evening's entertainment was too great. The ballet, as a court function, became increasingly popular and, as the expression of French taste, demanded embodiment in the Italian operatic works which began to make their appearance in Paris.

Early Italian Opera in France

The chronology of early performances of Italian opera in France is as follows: In 1645 and 1646 Italian players from Venice gave performances before semiprivate gatherings in Paris. In 1647 Cardinal Mazarin presented a performance, by Italians, of one of

the current Venetian operas.² Almost immediately French composers began to imitate; and the consequence of the imitation was that the French began to talk of a "national" form of opera. At this point the history of true French opera, as a form and style distinct from the Italian, begins.

French Composers: Cambert and Lully

The important French composers were Robert Cambert (1628?-1677), organist at the church of St. Honoré in Paris, and Jean Baptiste Lully (1633-1687), director of the twenty-four *violons du roi* at the court of Louis XIV. In 1659 Cambert, with the aid of the poet Pierre Perrin, produced a lyric drama, *La pastorale en musique*, which attracted much attention. Its method was entirely tentative—a combination of recitative after the Italian manner with the characteristically French chanson. In 1661 this work was followed by another of the same kind. In 1660 and 1662 Cavalli's operas were performed in Paris. The movement in favor of a distinct national type had become so strong that Cavalli's works were not particularly successful, in spite of the fact that in the second one, *Ercole amante*, the composer had attempted to meet the French taste, and that both works were furnished with ballets for which the music had been written by Lully.

The influence of Cavalli's operas on the style and method of the French composers was important. The inclusion of the ballet indicated the strength of its tradition; the "national" opera which began its development in the works of Cambert and Lully was a combination of Italian opera with French ballet. The example of true Italian recitative undoubtedly made an impression on the Parisian composers, and the type of overture which had been developed by Cavalli furnished Lully with a point of departure from which he gradually developed the French or "Lullian" overture.

² The *Orfeo* of Luigi Rossi.

French Opera

In 1669 Perrin, the poet, obtained a royal patent which permitted him to found a permanent operatic institution, the *Académie royale de musique* in which the French language was to be used exclusively. Two years later, in 1671, Perrin and Cambert produced the first true French opera, *Pomone*, followed the next year by another, *Les peines et les plaisirs de l'amour*. In the meantime Lully, by some obscure political machination, had deprived Perrin and Cambert of their royal patent, thus giving himself a virtual monopoly on operatic production in Paris. The imprint that he made on the whole course of musical development, owing to his almost ideal situation at the center of the musical life of Europe's most brilliant court, makes some discussion of the man imperative.

Jean Baptist Lully

Lully was a Florentine who, because he had attracted the attention of a French nobleman to his violin playing, was brought to France as a twelve-year-old boy to serve in the retinue of Mademoiselle de Montpensier. After several adventurous years, during which he served successively as kitchen scullion and musician, and in which he managed to develop his violin playing and also to receive instruction in composition, he became in 1651 a member of the king's band of twenty-four violins. He immediately ingratiated himself with the king, and in 1652 was charged with the formation, with himself as leader, of a second band, *Les petits violons de la majesté*. Both organizations existed to furnish music for court functions, at which dancing was the chief amusement. Partly because Louis XIV was passionately fond of dancing, and partly because Lully was a most astute court politician, this composer who began his career as a kitchen servant was able to maintain himself in the good graces of the king throughout his lifetime. Because Lully's operatic monopoly made him

wealthy, he has been accused of caring less for music than for his own aggrandizement. That should not detract from the fact that he was a very important composer—a musician whose influence was felt not only in Paris but throughout northern Europe.

Lully's Works

Between 1672, when a new opera house was opened with *Les fêtes de l'amour et de Bacchus*, and 1687, when Lully died, he composed and produced fifteen operas. Here, for the first time in a public opera house, the production of opera centered around the desires and demands of the composer. During the same period in Italy the composer was the least considered member of the staff of an opera house: singer, poet, and stage designer all took precedence over him. But at Paris Lully was not only master of his colleagues, he was drill master of his musicians. Consequently he took as complete charge of the preparation for performances as Wagner did two centuries later. Because of this fact, and also because the ballet master had now become director of the opera, the whole operatic form was quite different from the Italian.

The most important difference was in the vocal writing. Lully's contemporaries in Italy were developing the aria, more or less at the expense of the recitative. Lully expended his energies on the recitative, attempting really to accomplish what the members of the Camerata had held up as an ideal. His problem was partially new because he was dealing with a different and less musical language. In this he had no little help from his librettist, the poet Quinault. He developed a manner which, because it dealt so exactly with syllable accent and speech stress, was considered as a model for French recitative by his followers. Lully's treatment of recitative makes him much more a direct follower of the early Florentines than were men like Carissimi and Scarlatti. For the aria structure Lully was clearly in the debt of the Italians. He used such forms as the small ternary to be seen in the introductory song of the second act of Monteverde's *Orfeo*, and the rudimentary rondo similar to some of the five-part arias of Cavalli. His use of the orchestra for the accompaniment was superior to that of most composers before Scarlatti.

Contributions of Lully

Lully's most important contributions were in the very aspects of opera in which the orchestra figured most; the overture and the ballet. He developed a form for the overture which ever since has carried his name. It began with a slow stately introductory section, followed by a quick movement, often fugal in character, which in turn was followed by a shorter movement in one of the current dance forms. This form was copied, even by many Italians, for a hundred years after Lully's death and has influenced the style and form of orchestral music until the present. Italian operas were often performed with an overture composed after the Lullian model, and its grave and dignified character was so suitable that it was adopted almost exclusively as the form for oratorio overtures. In the matter of ballet music, Lully cultivated the dance forms already in existence; his contribution was in his manner of orchestral treatment. He scored a complement of instruments which was, for the time, remarkably full and resonant. Because of the popularity of the violin in France, the violinists there were more capable than could be found anywhere else in Europe. This fact made itself evident in the increased upward range of Lully's violin parts. His melodies were placed higher, giving an added clarity to the whole orchestral texture. As a result of Lully's work, the orchestra became a more capable and vital part of the opera.

The titles of Lully's operas give a clue to the character of the subjects which were popular in France: *Alceste* (1674), *Thésée* (1675), *Atys* (1676), *Isis* (1677), *Psyche* (1678), *Bellerophon* (1679), etc. But the poet and the composer took every opportunity offered by their subject matter to compare Louis XIV and the members of his court with the gods and goddesses of their stage, and such flattery was not wasted. The operas were immediately popular. The fact, however, that they remained in the repertoire of the Paris Opera until the Revolution indicates that they had musical qualities of lasting merit.

The musical style which Lully achieved, a vocal and instru-

mental treatment which was not only rich and interesting, but which created an effect of true and genuine pathos, was imitated by his immediate followers, men who have little historical importance aside from the fact that their works filled up the repertoire and maintained the tradition at the *Académie royale de musique*.

England

The history of opera in England during the seventeenth century must be necessarily largely an account of the preparation for the interest which London audiences were to take in Italian opera shortly after 1700. But before the Italians captured English taste, one native composer had given England her golden age: English musicians still look back to the time of Purcell with regret that he and the movement he represented were so short-lived.

The Masque

The masque was a picturesque combination of music, dancing, and grotesque costumes which had entertained the monarchs of England as far back as Henry VIII. Masques were introduced by Shakespeare into some of his dramas, and Ben Jonson was the author of several which were set to music by two now very obscure composers, Alfonso Ferrabosco, an English-born Italian, and Nicolo Lanière, an Italian. Probably England's first introduction to the *stilo recitativo* was through the recitatives which Lanière, as a composer who was aware of the innovations of the Camerata, composed to one of Jonson's masques in 1617. The masque became a traditional English institution, comparable to the ballet in France, with a brilliant history extending almost a century and a half, from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII until Cromwell; and even after the Restoration it was cultivated to some extent. As a cultivated poetic form it attracted Shakespeare, Jonson, Milton, and Dryden. Milton's *Masque of Comus*, performed in 1634 with music by Henry Lawes, was the most famous work in that form.

Not only was music used as a setting for many of the lyric portions of the masques, but it had a definite part in the great dramas which make the literary history of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries so brilliant. Many of the plays of Shakespeare, for instance, were intended to be performed with incidental music. An immense amount of such incidental music was written, only to suffer the fate of being so far overshadowed by the magnificence of the poetry that it has been forgotten.

The Puritan Influence

With such a tradition for the combination of music and poetic drama, England approached the period of the Commonwealth. The attitude of the Puritans toward music made the period in which they were in power, when it is compared with either the time immediately before or immediately after, one of the darkest periods in the whole history of English music. Their objection to both music and drama was stated in its most fanatical extreme in a book published by a Mr. Prynne in 1632. The title of the book was, as many book titles at that time were, quite explanatory: *Histrio-mastix, the Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragedie, in which it is pretended to be evidenced, that stage-plays (the very pompers of the divell, which we renounced in baptism, if we believe the fathers) are sinful, heathenish, lewde, ungodly spectacles, and most pernicious corruptions; condemned in all ages as intolerable mischiefs to churches, to republickes, to the manners, minds and soules of men.* . . . Prynne, who was expressing the sentiments of a constantly increasing party, gave vent further to his abomination of music: "The music of the churches is not the noise of men, but a bleating of brute beasts; choristers bellow the tenor as if it were oxen; bark a counterpoint as if it were a kennel of dogs; roar out a treble as if it were a sort of bulls; and grunt out a bass as if it were a number of hogs. . . . The woman that singeth in the dance is the prioress of the devil, and those that answer are clerks, and the beholders are the parishioners, and the music are the bells, and the fiddles are the minstrels of the devil."

The Puritan Stage

In 1647 all stage plays and entertainments which contained music and dancing were forbidden by decree of parliament, and not until 1656, under the Protectorate, was a theater given permission to open its doors. Although the Puritans were responsible for untold damage, particularly in the destruction of organs and choir books, the leaders of the movement were by no means as rabid as Prynne in their dislike of music. Cromwell himself was evidently fond of music, and Milton, the son of one of the prominent Elizabethan composers, was a well-trained musician. By 1656, too, the edge had worn off the early fanaticism of the Puritan movement. But just enough objection to music and drama as a public pastime existed so that the first performances at Sir William Davenant's new theater were tentative and experimental. The piece was described as "an Entertainment in Declamation and Music, after the manner of the ancients," which suggests some relationship to the conception of early opera. The stage directions continue: "After a flourish of music the Prologue enters and addresses the audience in verse, designating the forthcoming entertainment as an opera." After the Prologue retires "a consort of instrumental musick, adapted to the sullen disposition of Diogenes, being heard awhile, the curtains are suddenly opened, and, in two gilded rostras, appear Diogenes the cynick and Aristophanes the poet, who declaim against and for publique entertainment by moral representations."

Henry Cooke and Henry Lawes

Evidently Aristophanes' argument convinced the public, because the theater continued to play pieces for which the music was composed by the two most important composers of the period, Henry Cooke (?-1672) and Henry Lawes (1595-1662). That the English composers were imitating the operas of the Italians is evident from an account to be found in Evelyn's *Diary*. Shortly after the death of Cromwell Evelyn wrote: "I went to visit my brother in

London, and next day to see a new Opera after the Italian way, in recitative musiq, and sceanes, much inferior to the Italian composure and magnificence: but it was prodigious, that, in a time of such publique consternation, such a vanity should be kept up or permitted. . . ."

The Restoration: Matthew Locke

At the Restoration, when Charles II returned from France, music, and particularly music for the theater, took on new life. Charles and his intimates brought home a musical taste which had been cultivated at the court where Lully was the chief musician, and their efforts were turned immediately to procuring in England the means of satisfying that taste. Through the masque, the drama with incidental music, and the performances at Sir William Davenant's theater the London public had been prepared for an increased interest in dramatic music. Two theaters were built, and in them the type of performances which Davenant had instituted were continued. Strange as it may seem, however, no French or Italian composers were imported; a type of opera was continued which might have developed into a true English form. Matthew Locke (1632?-1677), newly appointed composer in ordinary to the king, composed two operas, *Psyche* and *Macbeth*, which combined all of the musical resources of the time, including a rough-and-ready recitative.

The first years of the Restoration were necessarily years of preparation. The important English composers of the late seventeenth century were entering the Royal Chapel as children, and until they matured very little could be expected of English music. And not until the second generation of "Children of the Royal Chapel" did the great genius of English opera appear.

Henry Purcell

Henry Purcell (1658-1695) was the pupil of Pelham Humfrey (1647-1674) who had been sent by Charles II to France, where, in turn, he had been a pupil of Lully. Purcell's training was en-

tirely English, but through his teacher and through the printed music which was again coming to England from abroad, he undoubtedly was entirely familiar with the important Continental musical styles.

Between 1688 and 1690 Purcell wrote his first opera, *Dido and Aeneas*.³ It was not written for the public theater, but for a girls' boarding school in London. It immediately attracted attention to its composer and stamped him as one of the great geniuses of his century. The death song, or "Lament" of Dido, from this early work, is a most effective piece of expressive writing and deserves to be ranked with Monteverde's famous "Lament" as one of the few outstanding songs of this character in the whole field of dramatic music. It is given here in full, with the short recitative which precedes it, because it deserves examination. The recitative made use of the method which was characteristic of the Italian composers, and the song is written over a *basso ostinato*, or recurring bass figure, which relates it to the method of the instrumental "divisions on a ground." It should be noted that this type of musical treatment, which is characteristically polyphonic, had been used tentatively by Italian composers as an aria structure, only to be crowded out by the *da capo* aria form. More deserving of notice than any other aspect of this music is the manner in which Purcell uses dissonances for their expressive value; his genius led him to a usage that made him a true successor of Monteverde in this respect.

Purcell's Operas

Purcell composed music for fifty-four plays. In most cases, however, he wrote only incidental music—a few songs and instrumental pieces. His operas number only six: *Dido and Aeneas*, *Diocletian* (1690), *King Arthur* (1691), *The Fairy Queen* (1692), *The Indian Queen* (1695), and *The Tempest* (1695). The last five may be called operas only with some reservations. In some

³ The date of this opera has been the subject of much debate; the researches of Barclay Squire, however, definitely assign it to the years given above. See Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Vol. II, 2, p. 480.

Recitative (Dido)

Thy hand, Be - lin - da; dark - - - ness

shades me: On thy bo - som let me rest: More I

would, but death - in - vades me: Death is

now a wel - come guest.

Song

When I am laid, — am

The first system of the musical score. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a whole rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a half note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) starts with a whole rest in the right hand and a whole note Bb2 in the left hand. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is common time (C).

laid — in earth may my wrongs — cre -

The second system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a half note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The piano accompaniment continues with a whole note Bb2 in the left hand and a whole note Bb3 in the right hand. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is common time (C).

ate no trou - ble, no trou-ble in thy

The third system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a half note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The piano accompaniment continues with a whole note Bb2 in the left hand and a whole note Bb3 in the right hand. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is common time (C).

breast; When I am laid, — am

The fourth system of the musical score. The vocal line continues with a half note G4, a quarter note A4, a half note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. The piano accompaniment continues with a whole note Bb2 in the left hand and a whole note Bb3 in the right hand. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is common time (C).

laid — in earth may my wrongs — cre -

The first system of the musical score. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. This is followed by a half note G4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, and a half note D4. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) consists of three measures. The first measure has a bass line with a half note G2 and a treble line with a half note G4. The second measure has a bass line with a half note F#2 and a treble line with a half note F#4. The third measure has a bass line with a half note E2 and a treble line with a half note E4.

ate no trou-ble, no trouble in thy breast;

The second system of the musical score. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. This is followed by a half note G4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, and a half note D4. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) consists of four measures. The first measure has a bass line with a half note G2 and a treble line with a half note G4. The second measure has a bass line with a half note F#2 and a treble line with a half note F#4. The third measure has a bass line with a half note E2 and a treble line with a half note E4. The fourth measure has a bass line with a half note D2 and a treble line with a half note D4.

Re - mem-ber me, Re -

The third system of the musical score. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. This is followed by a half note G4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, and a half note D4. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) consists of four measures. The first measure has a bass line with a half note G2 and a treble line with a half note G4. The second measure has a bass line with a half note F#2 and a treble line with a half note F#4. The third measure has a bass line with a half note E2 and a treble line with a half note E4. The fourth measure has a bass line with a half note D2 and a treble line with a half note D4.

mem - ber me, but ah! — for -

The fourth system of the musical score. The vocal line (treble clef) begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note Bb4, and a quarter note A4. This is followed by a half note G4, a quarter note F#4, a quarter note E4, and a half note D4. The piano accompaniment (grand staff) consists of four measures. The first measure has a bass line with a half note G2 and a treble line with a half note G4. The second measure has a bass line with a half note F#2 and a treble line with a half note F#4. The third measure has a bass line with a half note E2 and a treble line with a half note E4. The fourth measure has a bass line with a half note D2 and a treble line with a half note D4.

get — my fate. Re - mem - ber me, but

ah! — for - get my_ fate

Andante

ways they are more closely related to the play with incidental music.

Before leaving Purcell, notice must be taken of another field in which he was an active composer, namely, that of choral music. The new choral style which developed after 1660 in England owed enough of its characteristics to the monophonic form which produced the opera to deserve discussion.

Purcell's Choral Music

As an introduction to the choral music of Purcell and his contemporaries it is valuable to note that the popular demand for that type of music which had called forth the remarkable productions of the Elizabethan madrigalists was not killed by the Puritan upheaval. Almost immediately after the Restoration two instruction books for adult lay musicians had an immense popularity. The need which was filled by John Playford's *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, and Christopher Simpson's *The Principles of Practical Musick*, came from men like Samuel Pepys and his friends, who wanted to sing together for their own amusement and thus furnished an incentive to composers for an immense amount of choral composition.

English Musical Taste

Musical taste, however, had changed, and the anthems, glees, catches, and part songs of Purcell's time, and from his pen, had very little in common with motets and madrigals of their Elizabethan predecessors. They exemplified the new style which had been developing in Italy as a result of the reaction of monophony on choral technic. More than that, however, they indicate, when compared with the works of the Elizabethans, the distance which music had traveled in the modern direction. The rhythms are straightforward and regular; the melodies grow out of rhythmic regularity and tonal clarity; the harmonies show a well-developed understanding of tonal sequence, the differentiation between major and minor, and the function of modulation; and, finally, par-

ticularly in the anthems and the services, the setting of words is controlled by the same dramatic instinct which is characteristic of operatic procedure. The change which music had undergone in the hundred years between 1590 and 1690 can be illustrated in no better way than by a comparison of a madrigal of Thomas Morley and a part song of Henry Purcell. The opera and its monophonic method were largely responsible.

With the death of Purcell in 1695 English opera virtually ceased to be an important art form, and England no longer seemed able to produce the creative musicianship which had made her two golden ages.

Germany

The history of opera in Germany between 1600 and 1700 might be written by saying that the Italian musicians conquered the whole territory. The opening of the Teatro San Cassiano at Venice was followed by the opening of an opera house in Vienna in 1642, where more than four hundred different operas were performed before 1705. Two Italians who were the directors of the Vienna opera made it really a branch of the Venetian School. Antonio Bertali (1605-1669) and Antonio Draghi (1635-1700) both composed opera after opera for their establishment; the output of Draghi was no less than one hundred and seventy-five operas and forty-three oratorios. That the time was fast approaching when the Italian opera would have very little more to contribute to musical progress may be gathered from the speed with which men like Draghi were able to apply the operatic formulas.

In Munich the first opera house was opened in 1657, with Johann Kasper Kerll (1627-1693) as director. Kerll had been a pupil of Carissimi and Frescobaldi, and on his return to Germany he brought with him the best Italian traditions. None of Kerll's operas survive, and because he was primarily an organist he must be judged as a composer for that instrument rather than as an operatic composer. Whatever German characteristics may have appeared in Kerll's operas were lost in the later submission of the Munich opera to the Italian influence. Between 1620 and 1780 he was the only musical director who was not an Italian.

The conditions at Vienna and Munich were reproduced to some extent in Dresden and Brunswick, to mention only two of the many smaller centers of court life in Germany. The princes were the willing victims of second-rate Italians. To one who seeks for hints of the future greatness of German dramatic music the operatic establishments furnish few clues. With few exceptions German composers who were influenced by the *stilo recitativo* were primarily church composers. Their works are important because they show the development of the German oratorio or Passion music.

Heinrich Schütz

Perhaps the most important German composer who managed to retain his identity in the "great Italian ocean" was Heinrich Schütz. Born in 1585, he was, from 1609 until 1612, a pupil of the Venetian, Giovanni Gabrieli. Thus his Italian experience brought him into contact with only the earliest aspect of the operatic movement; Monteverde, it will be remembered, did not go to Venice until 1613, although his fame and some knowledge of his style must have preceded him.⁴

On his return to Germany, Schütz, after a short period at Kassel, settled in Dresden, where he had charge of the chapel at the Saxon court until his death in 1672. His fifty-five years at Dresden were broken by several protracted trips to Italy, but more seriously by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) which disturbed not only the cultivation of art, but the whole course of normal life in northern Germany, to an almost unbelievable extent.

In 1627 Schütz composed a musical setting for a German translation of Rinuccini's *Dafne*. This was the first true opera in the German language. Because the music has disappeared it cannot be definitely described. It is, however, in the sacred works of this composer that the earnest simplicity and deep feeling which places Schütz as the father of modern German music is combined with

⁴ Monteverde's works were published in Venice under the supervision of his brother who was a resident there.

the technical method of the Camerata's successors. *Die Sieben Worte Jesus Christi* (the Seven Words of Jesus Christ), the *Historie der Auferstehung* (Story of the Resurrection), and the *Matthäus Passion* (Passion of St. Matthew) are three very important works, in which are forecast the monumental *Passions* of J. S. Bach. They are germane to our present discussion not because they had an influence on the future course of German opera, but because they reflect to some extent the early meeting of German mentality and Italian method. This short example which Riemann cites in his *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* will suffice to indicate the manner in which Schütz used the *stilo recitativo*. It is taken from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* (Christmas Oratorio).

A - ber das Kind wuchs und ward stark im

Geist, voll-er Weis-heit, und Got-tes

Gna - de war bei ihm

Important musical activity in Germany was confined until several decades after the end of the Thirty Years' War to the disaffected cities of the south. Consequently the next landmark in German opera was produced at Nuremberg by Sigmund Staden (1607-1655), one of the long line of organists who had made the

city of Albrecht Dürer and the Meistersingers one of the musical centers of southern Germany. Staden's work *Seelewig* was a curious combination of spoken dialogue and recitative in the Italian style. It was a cross between opera and an older German dramatic form similar to the English masque, the *Singspiel*. Because, however, it did make use of the *stilo recitativo*, it deserves to be called the first surviving German opera. It is not an important work musically; its sole value is due to its position as a milestone.

The first opera house to become the home of a true German operatic art was the result of an undertaking on the part of the citizens of Hamburg. It was opened in 1678, and until 1718 only four works in foreign languages were produced. The early group of composers who were active at Hamburg were Johann Theile (1646-1724) who was much respected by his contemporaries for his contrapuntal skill, Nikolaus Adam Strungk (1640-1700), and Johann Förtsch (1652-1732). After a short interlude during the years 1690 and 1691 when foreign influence seems to have dominated (although the librettos were translated into German), a new group of composers appeared, dominated by the man whose name is most often connected with early Hamburg opera, Reinhard Keiser (1674-1739).

Reinhard Keiser

Keiser came to Hamburg in 1693, after receiving his education at Leipzig, where he undoubtedly came under the influence of Italian musicians. With some interruptions his connection with the Hamburg opera lasted until his death. He composed no less than one hundred and sixteen operas. Such fecundity, which has already been mentioned with other composers of the same period, is not particularly amazing when the composer's methods are taken into consideration.

The *da capo* aria, perfected by Scarlatti, was almost the only form used by Keiser for solo parts. Its composition had become a formula; and although it must be admitted that the application of the formula demanded creative musicianship, it could be done rapidly. The problems which Monteverde faced had been solved

for Keiser by his predecessors. It was also characteristic of the composers of the period that they felt no compunctions about using the work of others. Mattheson, a contemporary of Keiser at Hamburg, who has chronicled the period in his *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, tells, without any evident attempt to detract from his friend's reputation, of an instance which is illuminating. Keiser evidently had been commissioned to compose a cantata but wasn't able to get it finished. Mattheson did the work, and Keiser let it be performed as his own. This lack of artistic conscience led composers to pilfer not only the works of other composers but their own as well, particularly if the part to be re-used had been successful. Thus a single aria may be found, with different words, in several operas.

Keiser's music marks the italianization of German secular music, not only in form and instrumentation, but also in the light and tuneful melodic style and the straightforward harmonic procedure. It was entirely characteristic that Handel, who came to Hamburg in 1703 to learn what there was to know about operatic composition should, after a stay of less than two years, go to Italy to perfect himself.

Summary

Thus far in discussing the music of the seventeenth century we have traced the development and powerful influence of musical drama. After its invention in Italy it proceeded, through the works of Monteverde, Cavalli, Carissimi, Cesti, and Scarlatti to a perfection of form and method which was practical and at the same time satisfactory to contemporary audiences. The movement was not confined to Italy but spread over the whole continent. In France it met with an already existing tradition which was strong enough to effect a permanent modification which resulted in the creation of a new operatic type. In England and Germany the national tradition existed, but the attempts to create national types, culminating in the dramatic works of Purcell and the activity at Hamburg, were not permanent. Purcell's works have lasting musical value, and the same thing may be said of some

of the products of the Hamburg School, but for the purpose of establishing a permanent national form of opera distinct from the Italian, both were sporadic and doomed to failure.

To present the whole seventeenth century only in the light of operatic development is to give, however, only a partial picture. The opera was, to be sure, the most spectacular aspect of the century, but the less brilliant growth of the choral and instrumental music which had no connection with the stage was an equally important episode in musical history. To understand the seventeenth century this music must be studied; even to understand completely most of the men whose names have already appeared in connection with opera, their compositions for chamber, church, and concert must be described.

Readings

George Hogarth
W. J. Apthorp
W. H. Cummings
W. A. Barrett
Henri Dupré
D. Arundell
E. J. Dent
Joseph Goddard
Romain Rolland
L. de la Laurencie
André Pirro
Henry Prunières

Memoirs of the Music Drama
Opera Past and Present
Purcell
English Church Composers
Purcell
Henry Purcell
Foundations of English Opera
The Rise and Development of Opera
Some Musicians of Former Days
Lully
Schütz
Lully

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

An Orientation

TO VIEW the instrumental music of the seventeenth century simply as the exercises of musicians who were engaged in a century of experimentation and transition is dangerous because it closes the doors to a vast storehouse of music which is remarkably interesting for its own sake. The century was one in which great forces were molding the future course of musical development, but there is no reason to believe that musicians then felt that they were creating music of any less value than that of their predecessors.

The moving forces that affected instrumental music between 1600 and 1700 may be listed as follows:

1. The amazing development of instrumental performing technic, which went hand in hand with the perfecting of the instruments themselves.
2. The increasing differentiation between nationalities of musical needs and taste.
3. The vitality of the polyphonic method as it applied to instrumental music.
4. The new monophonic conceptions of musical materials.

The Violin

The development of performing technic was most obvious in connection with the new instruments of the violin family. The

violin, the viola, and the violoncello almost entirely replaced the older viols during the seventeenth century. The makers of northern Italy, particularly of Cremona, began that production of amazing instruments which reached its never surpassed climax in the violins of Antonius Stradivarius (1644-1737). Such instruments, from the workshops of the Amatis, Guarnerius, and Stradivarius, furnished an incentive to the performer-composers which cannot be overestimated.

The Keyboard Instruments: New Uses

The keyboard instruments underwent no such radical change as that which produced the violin. The organ, the harpsichord, and the clavichord were remarkably effective instruments even at the beginning of the century. They were subject, however, to a good deal of experimentation in regard to the manner in which they were tuned. New harmonic procedure made the faults of modal tuning increasingly apparent; the final solution of the problem was postponed, however, until the eighteenth century. Organists, too, dispensed with the clumsy tablature which they had used as a notation, and replaced it with the modern system. Organ and harpsichord owe the development of their technic and literature not only to the interest which composers felt for them, but also to the new functions which they achieved. In northern Germany the organ profited immensely by the emergence at the end of the Thirty Years' War of Lutheranism as the dominant religion. The opera provided a new use for the harpsichord, as the leading instrument of the orchestra from which the conductor, who was often the composer, directed the performance. Owing, however, to the use of the figured bass in operatic scores, and even in much of the choral and independent instrumental ensemble music of the period, the greatest part of the music that was played on the keyboard instruments was never written down; consequently it must be "realized" from the figured bass in accordance with the principles which were then current, in order to be available for modern performance. But sufficient solo music was written to indicate that the feeling for keyboard style was constantly increasing.

National Characteristics

The chapters on opera have indicated the manner in which musical nationalism affected that form. The Italian opera remained Italian, and although it had a modifying influence, it did not prevent the growth of national musicodramatic forms in France, England, and Germany. The characteristics which dominated the Singspiel and the Oratorio in Germany, and the English and French opera, appeared during the seventeenth century in the instrumental music of those countries. German music, French music, Italian music, and English music all began to reflect, each in its own characteristic way, the needs, taste, and character of Germany, France, Italy, and England.

Instrumental Style

Despite the fact that the genius of no instrument except the organ was best served by music of polyphonic texture, and in the face of a revolutionary reform by which the early opera eschewed all but the vestige of a polyphonic technic, that method remained, with remarkable vitality, fundamental to instrumental music. The whole problem which instrumental composers were unconsciously trying to solve was one which becomes immediately clear if we substitute the term "absolute music" for "instrumental music." The *stilo recitativo* had as its central problem the subordination of music to text; absolute music demanded that the composer contrive an architecture that would make his music clear and coherent without dependence upon text. The only structural principles available were polyphonic; they could not be discarded until something which could replace them was found.

It must not be supposed, however, that the new monophonic methods exerted no influence on instrumental music. The melodic freshness and rhythmic straightforwardness which became characteristic of operatic song in the works of men like Cavalli were equally characteristic of much of the instrumental music of the same period. In the case of instrumental music the change did not come about by a sudden revolution, but by a general infiltration.

We have seen that the technic of a new polyphony became apparent in the works of operatic composers before the middle of the seventeenth century. In a similar way, but as the result of an opposite juxtaposition, long before the middle of the century, monophonic characteristics began to appear in the instrumental music whose fundamental method was to remain polyphonic.

Organists and Organ Music

Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice, Frescobaldi in Rome, and Sweelinck in Holland formed the links which made the development of organ playing and literature a continuous growth from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. They all maintained the polyphonic tradition which they had inherited, directly or indirectly, through the methods brought by Willaert to Venice from the Netherlands. In the works of Sweelinck and Frescobaldi, who were a generation younger than Gabrieli, the polyphonic forms which were to dominate organ music, at least until the time of Bach, received definition. The *ricercare* and *fantasia* became in fact, if not in name, the fugue, with a definite internal organization.¹ The *toccata* and the *prelude* were free polyphonic forms, based, as they had been originally, largely on the idea of technical display. Sweelinck began the development of the *Choral-Vorspiel*, a form which grew out of the practical necessities of the Lutheran service. The organist's introduction to the hymn was an extemporized treatment which combined the stately Lutheran hymn or choral with the characteristic polyphony of the organ. This form, as the meeting place of the fundamentally German choral tradition and the more cosmopolitan polyphonic method which had grown up around the organ, was destined to have a remarkable influence on German music. The form which already has been described as "divisions on a ground," *chaconne*, or *passacaglia*—actually a polyphonic kind of variation—interested organists as well as composers for other instruments, and thus became the formal basis for a part of seventeenth-century organ literature.

¹ German organists during the seventeenth century began using the word "fugue" in its present usage.

Froberger, Reinken, Buxtehude, Pachelbel

The successors of Gabrieli, Frescobaldi, and Sweelinck who are important historically were Germans. Johann Jakob Froberger (1605?-1667) was court organist at Vienna. He was, from 1637 until 1641, a pupil of Frescobaldi in Rome. His importance is due to the fact that his works were a meeting place for Italian and German methods, with some assimilation also of English and French keyboard technic. Three organists represent the next generation, and form the bridge to the eighteenth century. Jan Reinken (1623-1722) was the great representative of the North German organ school. He was organist at St. Katherine's Church in Hamburg for more than half a century where his organ playing attracted the attention and admiration of musicians from all parts of Germany. His influence on men like J. S. Bach was in great part responsible for the high standards of performance which characterized early eighteenth-century organists. Because his attention was devoted to the technic of performance, which, aside from its mechanical aspect, consisted largely of artistic improvisation, Reinken left very little written music.

Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707) was for many years organist at Lübeck, where he was visited early in the eighteenth century by both Handel and Bach. Buxtehude drew attention to himself not only because he was a great organist, but also because of an annual series of church concerts which he instituted at Lübeck. For five Sunday afternoons before Christmas Buxtehude's entire musical forces, organ, choir, and small orchestra, gave the concerts known as "Abendmusiken." But for these perhaps none of Buxtehude's music would have remained. Those of his compositions which were for organ displayed a feeling for harmony and a keen musical imagination which marked their composer as a man of genius. The forms which he used were those characteristic of the period: prelude and fugue, choral prelude, passacaglia, chaconne, and toccata.

Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706), the third of the group of pre-Bach organists, was a native of Nuremberg, where, after holding posts as organist in several important cities of central Germany,

he returned in 1695 as organist of St. Seebald's Church. The historical importance of Pachelbel is due, aside from the fact that he was a composer whose works are not devoid of interest, to the fact that he was the agent by which the advances made by the Italian-South German organists were transmitted to northern Germany. Because of the gigantic stature of Johann Sebastian Bach, whose work belongs in the eighteenth century, the men who prepared the way for him take on an increased significance. Bach, through his contacts with Reinken, Buxtehude, and indirectly with Pachelbel, inherited not only the North and South German, but the Italian, musical traditions as they applied to the organ.

The Harpsichord: The Suite

The relation between the organ and the harpsichord was close during the seventeenth century. The reasons for this were first that organists used the smaller instrument for much of their practice, and second that the use of the pedal keyboard on the organ had not become widespread enough to make its absence on the harpsichord a handicap. Much of the music that was written was, in consequence, the work of composers who were primarily organists. The sharp distinction between the styles of the two instruments did not become entirely obvious until the appearance of the harpsichord virtuosi of the eighteenth century, but the forms in which the music was written became increasingly well defined during the seventeenth.

The earliest examples of the rudimentary suite which appeared late in the sixteenth century have already received some consideration in connection with the English composers of that period. After nearly a half century in which little important music was written for the harpsichord, a new activity began in which a rejuvenated suite, containing sometimes a group of dances and sometimes a group of more learned polyphonic pieces, became an important factor.

France: Chambonnières

The first signs of a renewed interest in the harpsichord were visible in France. Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1600?-1670?), who was first harpsichordist at the court of Louis XIV, published two books of pieces for his instrument which stamp him the founder of a new school in France. He established the suite of dances as the form suitable for the intimacy of the instrument, and defined a dexterous and dainty style which prepared the way for the clavecinists of the next century.

England: Purcell

In England the revival of interest in the harpsichord was a part of the general quickening which followed the Puritan régime. A collection called *Melothesia*, published in 1679, contained suites which indicate the universal acceptance of a normal order of dance movements: allemande-courante-sarabande-gigue. The order is sometimes modified by the addition of a prelude at the beginning, and often some other rapid dance is substituted for the gigue. In 1696 Purcell's widow published a volume of his compositions called *Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet*. These suites have a compactness of structure and an expressive energy which explains the satisfaction felt by admirers of Purcell at the inadvertent inclusion of his "Toccata in A" in the publication of Bach's complete works. The musical treatment in the small Purcell pieces which were published by Henry Playford under the title *Lessons for Musick's Handmaid*, especially the treatment of the ground-bass variation, shows the composer to have had a remarkable grasp of instrumental style.

Germany: Froberger

Froberger was one of the earliest of the German composers to attack the problem of secular keyboard music. His suites show the same external features—the normal grouping of dance move-

ments, which are so familiar in the suites of Bach. Froberger's clavier music is distinctly German in that it is dignified and even severe, but it is, when compared with the sacred music of the time, distinctly secular.

Johann Kuhnau

The other important German composer for the harpsichord was Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722), Bach's immediate predecessor as cantor of the Thomas Church at Leipzig. His first suites were published in 1689. In these works the distinction between organ and harpsichord style begins to appear. In 1692 Kuhnau published another set of pieces, the last of which was called a sonata. In his preface he remarked: "I have added a Sonata in B \flat . Why should not such things be attempted on the Klavier as well as on other instruments?"² Although this sonata has little if any relationship to the sonata form of the succeeding century, it deserves important mention for two reasons: it was probably the first time the word had been used in connection with the keyboard, and, of greater importance, it was a conscious attempt to apply the monophonic method to music which had acquired a traditional polyphonic flavor. Kuhnau's further experiments carried him into the field of descriptive writing, which was, as we have seen in the music of William Byrd, by no means a new thing for harpsichordists. His methods here are reminiscent of the descriptive choruses of Carissimi's oratorios. The titles of the six sonatas based on Biblical stories are *David and Goliath*, *David Healing Saul*, *The Marriage of Jacob*, *Hezekiah's Illness*, *Gideon*, and *The Tomb of Jacob*.

Kuhnau was such an intensely interesting and curious character that his personality can hardly be passed over in silence. He was not only a thoroughly trained musician, but was learned in theology, jurisprudence, rhetoric, poetry, mathematics, and both ancient and modern languages. His learning was demonstrated by the fact that he was "admitted to the bar," that he published translations from French and Italian of obscure philo-

² The earlier use of the word "sonata" in connection with other instruments will be discussed later in the chapter.

sophical treatises, and that he published a satirical novel, *The Musical Charlatan*.³ The novel is a satire on musical court life in Germany, and tells the story of a Suabian adventurer who passed himself off on his own countrymen as an Italian musician. Taking an Italian name, but knowing almost nothing about music, Kuhnau's hero successfully appeared in court after court, much to the shame of the German reader's musical patriotism. Kuhnau's good-natured castigation of his hero, coupled with the evidences of his own solid musicianship, furnish a commentary which is valid in any country which insists on importing its "stars."

Italy: Pasquini

After the early toccatas and partitas for cembalo of Frescobaldi, which display distinct organ style, little important independent harpsichord music was written in Italy until late in the century. Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710) was the leader in developing a new interest in the harpsichord which was to make the son of Alessandro Scarlatti the great performer of the early eighteenth century. In 1697 Pasquini published a set of toccatas and partitas which resembled the suites of northern Europe, but which showed the decided influence of operatic monophony.

The Violin: Important Violin Makers

The manufacture of true violins probably began at Brescia with Gaspar da Salo (1542?-1609), whose pupils made that north Italian city the center of the earliest school of violin making. Before the time of Gaspar, instruments had been made which may be said to represent steps in the process which differentiated the violin from the rebec and the viol, but they are not important to our present discussion. Giovanni Maggini (1580-1640?) was Gaspar's most important pupil.

Late in the sixteenth century violin makers began to appear in Cremona, among whom was Andrea Amati (1530?-1611),

³ *Der Musikalische Quack-Salber*, Dresden, 1700.

first of a long family whose instruments are still much sought. In the hands of the Cremona makers, sons and pupils of the Amatis, the violin gradually approached a perfected form. The climax came in the instruments of Antonius Stradivarius (1644-1737). By the time of the great makers, however, the art had spread from Brescia and Cremona to all parts of Italy, and thence to Germany, France, and England. The annals of violin making contain great names in all of those countries.

However, by no means did the violin immediately replace the older viols; but its superiority is evidenced by the solo music which began to be written for it quite early in the seventeenth century. Before the century was finished it had become the accepted string instrument not only in opera orchestras but also in all other musical functions, and its qualities made possible the rise of virtuoso performers. Thus the violin became the center of the movement which prepared the way for modern instrumental music.

Early Violin Music: The Canzona

The early steps in the growth of an independent violin music are obscure. The violin began to replace the older instruments in the combinations for which *canzone* were written, and as the qualities of the new instrument made themselves felt, the violin usurped the form altogether. The *canzona*, then, with its characteristic polyphonic treatment, which prescribed rather a fairly free use of imitation than the structure like the fugue, became the vehicle for the early evolution of violin music. Very early in the seventeenth century Italian instrumental composers began to use the word *sonata* as a name for their instrumental pieces. The word indicated simply that the music was instrumental; was to be played rather than sung. A sonata was a piece of instrumental chamber music, just as a cantata was a piece of vocal chamber music. For a time *canzona* and *sonata* and *sinfonia* were used interchangeably to describe the same piece of music. Finally, but still in the first half of the seventeenth century, *sonata* became the accepted name, without, however, any radical change

having taken place in the music. Before the end of the century the *sonata* which had grown out of the *canzona*, and which was, consequently, polyphonic in character, came to be known as the *sonata da chiesa*, the church sonata.

Church and Chamber Sonatas

At exactly the same time that the *sonata da chiesa* was emerging another process was going on which produced the *sonata da camera*, the chamber sonata. The character of the *sonata da camera* is best described by the statement that it is, for the literature of the violin, exactly what the suite was for the literature of the harpsichord—a group of dance pieces.

The processes by which the two types of sonatas developed were vastly more complex than an understandable description can make them appear. Before 1650 the violin had become a remarkably popular instrument; performers and composers were legion, and every possible avenue of growth was explored. The sonata originally does not seem to have been conceived as a vehicle for solo performance. It was natural that, having grown out of the earlier ensemble forms, it should retain for a time its original function.

But as performing technic developed and composers mastered a polyphony which was no longer vocal but instrumental, and as the monophonic methods of the operatic aria began to make themselves felt, the early rather miscellaneous instrumentation gave way to the trio sonata, and from the trio sonata developed the sonata for single violin with harpsichord accompaniment. (It may be said that the composer wrote no more of the harpsichord part than the figured bass which in this connection came to be known as the *continuo*, or *basso continuo*, to distinguish it from the true bass part which might be written in a trio sonata for a single-voiced instrument such as the viol da gamba or the violoncello.)

Composers

The list of composers who, during the seventeenth century, prepared the way for the man who is said to have been the founder of modern violin music and playing is a long one. It contains the names of men whose importance as composers of interesting and even great music will increase as more of their music is made known: Giovanni Battista Fontana (?-1630), Tarquinio Merula (published works between 1623 and 1640), Biagio Marini (1600?-1655?), Giovanni Legrenzi (the operatic composer), Massimiliano Neri (published works between 1644 and 1664), Maurizio Cazzati (1620?-1677), Giovanni Vitali (1644?-1692), Giuseppe Torelli (1660?-1708), and finally the founder, Arcangelo Corelli (1653-1713).

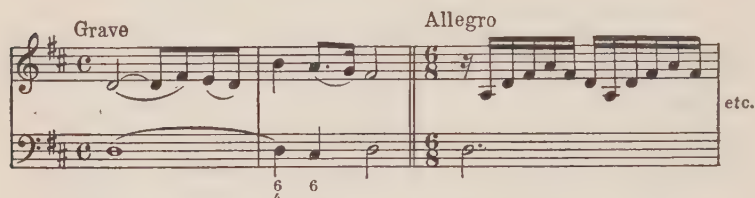
It must be remembered that the development of the violin and its music was exactly contemporary with the development of the opera. The spread of the opera to all parts of Europe brought with it an equally wide diffusion of Italian instrumentalists. The twenty-four *violons du roi* and the orchestra at the Paris Opera became centers for instrumental music in France, and in like manner Germany and England soon had violinists and composers for the violin who were not far behind those in Italy. Thomas Baltzer (1630?-1663) was active in both Germany and England. In Heinrich Biber (1644-1704) Germany had a violinist who was probably a much more capable performer than Corelli. His compositions, like some of those of Vitali and Corelli, are still studied by modern violinists. Purcell, in one of his prefaces, said that he now published a work in the style of Corelli; the "Golden Sonata" for two violins and continuo is in that case a monument to the ability of an Englishman to assimilate a foreign style.

Sonatas of Corelli

Space forbids constant illustration of the changes made during the seventeenth century in instrumental style and form as applied to the violin. The progress toward a modern conception of the capacities of the instrument, and toward a satisfactory solution

of the formal problem, can be illustrated by comparing the Corelli sonata, from which excerpts are now to be described, with the portion of the Byrd fantasia, which was cited in Chapter 15.

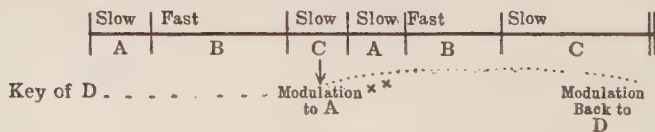
The sonata⁴ begins with two measures of slow introduction, immediately followed by an allegro, in which the interest is focused on brilliant passage work which is distinctly violinistic in style:



The allegro gives way after seven measures to an adagio:



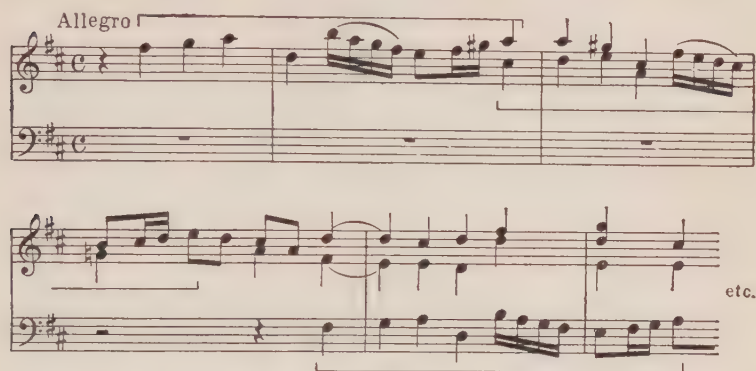
after which the grave, allegro, and adagio are repeated; the second time the music is a fifth higher, with a return to the original key at the end, and the adagio is extended to close the movement. A diagram of the structure, which is clearly violinistic, monophonic, and tonal, would be as follows:



The structural organization—although as far as subject matter is concerned it corresponds to no later form—is clear and concise. The contrast of key, secured by returning to the original tonic after an excursion into the dominant, demonstrates the fundamental structural value of the new tonality.

⁴ Op. 5, no. 1.

The second movement shows its relationship to the older fantasia. The polyphony is no longer choral but distinctly instrumental. Note that the violin is given the first *two* statements of the subject.



After thirty-odd measures of working out, the fairly strict polyphony gives way to a style of treatment that is interesting because it is the violinistic substitution for blocks of unviolinistic chords:



The third movement is another allegro, but with no hint of the use of imitative devices. The interest here lies wholly in the technic of the instrument; it is clearly *violin* music, demanding agile fingers and sprightly bow.

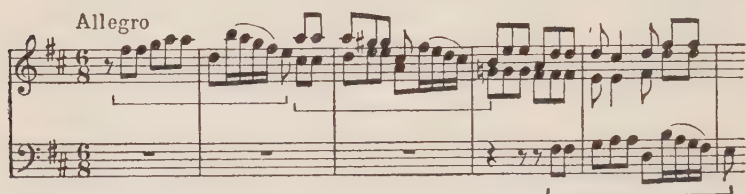


The fourth movement is a stately adagio, the function of which is to give the necessary contrast between fast movements. Its

quality may be observed from the first few measures. Here the key is no longer D major, but B minor.



The final movement is polyphonic, beginning with a type of imitation and subject obviously derived from the second movement.



The contrast of movements in this work, which is a true *sonata da chiesa*, is as follows:

GRAVE ALLEGRO ADAGIO
 ALLEGRO (polyphonic)
 ALLEGRO (monophonic)
 ADAGIO
 ALLEGRO (polyphonic)

The development of the *sonata da chiesa* and the *sonata da camera*, or suite, took place at exactly the time when operatic composers were evolving the *da capo* aria. But the early sonata did not become a formula, as did the aria form, and the result was that it continued into the following century with the vitality that is characteristic of an art form not yet fully grown. Although Corelli's sonatas are characteristic of the style and general musical concepts and methods of his time, they in no sense represent a form which had become stereotyped.

Before proceeding to a summary of the seventeenth century, some space must be devoted to the change in harmonic conceptions which took place between 1600 and 1700.

New Harmonic Conceptions

At the death of Palestrina and Lasso, in 1594, harmony was still a by-product of the modal rules governing polyphonic voice relations. It is true that the superior qualities of the vertical combinations produced by the new Ionian and Aeolian modes had become apparent and that the beginnings had been made in regarding chords as musical entities, through the use of a figured bass; but these were regarded simply as improvements on the old system. At the end of the seventeenth century, in 1691, a German, Andreas Werckmeister, published a book called *Musikalische Temperatur* which formulated a theory making modulation through the whole key series possible.⁵ Keys had long since been recognized, and composers were tiring of the imperfections of tuning that forced them to remain in keys closely related to C major. The seventh which Monteverde used so daringly had become commonplace as a means of making a harmonic cadence; composers had discovered its value for changing the tonal center, and they now wanted to explore the possibilities of even "keener" modulations. The tonal revolution, as far as the establishment of a tonic center was concerned, was completed, and the fact of key had become apparent as being fundamental to formal structure. The *harmonic* implications of Monteverde's use of the seventh were realized. It remained only for the next century to complete a *science* of harmony that would explain the new usage.

Summary

Robert Schumann's enthusiasm for a great composer, to which he gave expression when he spoke of Bach as the founder of modern music, has created an erroneous impression of the con-

⁵ Werckmeister's plan was similar to that carried out later by Bach and illustrated in the *Well-tempered Clavichord*. It was to remove the obstacles to modulation which were inherent in the tuning of the modal scale by making every half-step, and consequently every whole step, exactly the same size. The resulting division of the octave into twelve equal parts is the basis of modern tuning.

tributions of men and centuries before Bach. If our study from the very beginning has not made that clear, the immense vitality of the seventeenth century should prove it. The emergence of the modern world from the medieval, which took place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, finds its counterpart in the seventeenth-century emergence of modern from medieval music.

Italy, unhampered by the fierce struggles of the Thirty Years' War or the fanaticism of the Puritans, established its musical supremacy through the invention and popularization of opera and the discovery and cultivation of the violin. France, during the age of her great lyric and dramatic poets, laid the foundations for a truly French musical taste which has never completely succumbed to foreign influence. Germany, through the scourge of an unbelievably destructive war, and in spite of the dominating Italian musicians, established the strength of the musical tradition which was to lead to future greatness. English music, after the break of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, more than regained its former glory only to flicker out, at the death of Purcell, during a two-century submission to foreign musicians. The Church, the institution which had nurtured music and musicians for more than a thousand years, lost its final hold on the art, and meekly accepted the worldly music that musicians thought fit to offer. And as a climax, music began to create her own high priests, in the persons of those who could master the now immensely more difficult and glittering technics of composition and performance. Not in the eighteenth century would Samuel Pepys have had the assurance to confide to his diary: "And so away home, and for saving my eyes at my chamber all the evening pricking down some things⁶ and trying some conclusions upon my viall, in order to the inventing a better theory of musique than hath yet been abroad; and I think verily I shall do it."⁷

Readings

Henry C. Lahee
Philipp Spitta

The Organ and Its Masters
Life of Bach

⁶ Pricking down some things = noting some music.

⁷ Pepys' *Diary*, March 20, 1668.

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Herbert Westerby	<i>The History of Pianoforte Music</i>
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Louis Adolph Coerne	<i>The Evolution of Modern Orchestration</i>
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Luigi Ronga	<i>Gerolamo Frescobaldi</i>

Part Six:

The Eighteenth Century

PROLOGUE:

THE AGE OF REASON AND OF REVOLUTION

MOST of the music now current in concerts, broadcasts, and recordings, as well as nearly all of the music used for teaching purposes, was composed after the beginning of the eighteenth century—after 1700. Although the student of music history understands that this great body of music cannot be understood completely except in the light of the long past which made its production possible, its very bulk makes the age which produced it seem more important than all other periods of music history combined. Such a perspective is normal: as we approach closer to our own time we find more music that is recognizable as part of our cultural heritage; we also perceive and wish to discuss the interplay between that music and the other aspects of our culture.

The eighteenth century inherited both the baroque exuberance and the classical repose which were present in the previous century. These two ideals, the first finding satisfaction in the vitality of the individual moment and the

second placing emphasis on the subordination of component part to harmonious whole, continued their vitality on into the new century. In the manifestations of these ideals are to be found both the strength and the weakness of the period. In the disorganized society of Italy the baroque ideal resulted in the degenerate music of much of the early eighteenth-century opera. That same operatic activity, however, displayed in its librettos an equally degenerate classicism. The highly florid music of Bach, on the other hand, is a baroque expression of high vitality, and the classical ideal found an equally vital expression in the formal aspect of the music of Haydn and Mozart.

The eighteenth century has come to be called the Age of Reason. The century which began with the last years of the reign of Louis XIV in France and ended with the American and French revolutions was motivated by the desire to apply reason to its problems. The men of the eighteenth century, in the name of reason, made remarkable progress in nearly every aspect of human activity. The sciences, with some tools and important concepts from the past, took on many of the aspects which are familiar to the modern student of science. A start was made in the application of scientific methods to the understanding of social relationships. Voltaire, among many others, felt and responded to an atmosphere in which the criticism of almost every idea and institution of his time could take a reasonable course, unhampered by the traditions of past institutions and beliefs. It was not an accident which changed the center of society from the state to the individual, but the culmination of a kind of thinking which was characteristic of the whole century. "All men are created equal" and "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" expressed an idea which was to be as exciting to a composer as to a statesman, as influential in

producing new musical forms as in demanding new forms of government.

The student of music history must be warned against making the mistake of trying to discover too close an analogy between the quiet circumstances which indicate musical change and clamorous events of the political world. The problems of the musician are solved in the atmosphere of the composer's workroom, and musical revolutions usually follow similar political changes after a considerable lapse of time. But in the eighteenth century the status of the composer as an individual changed as rapidly as did that of other individuals, and his art soon reflected his change of status.

The change from the debauched opera of the early eighteenth century to Beethoven at the end of the century is a transformation which is as exciting, in terms of music, as the other changes of the century were in their terms, and the student of music history will do well to understand that they were all taking place in the same society.

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ITALY FROM 1700 TO BEYOND 1750

Introduction

THE FIRST half of the eighteenth century may be taken as the central and most characteristic part of a period which began before 1700 and did not end until after 1750. Those years belong together as a period in the history of music because all of the musical activity, both in Italy and in other nations where

Italian influence was strong, was unified by two distinct trends: one toward virtuosity, and the other toward formalization.

From the standpoint of the late nineteenth-century historian, the whole period could be viewed best in the perspective furnished by the German composers. Such a perspective is almost true, and would be totally true did not the continued foreshortening tend to diminish out of all proportion the value of what was taking place in Italy. Handel and Bach were undoubtedly the giants of the period, but it must be remembered that the present veneration in which they are held is based not only on the few qualities which made them different from most of the men of their own generation, but on the many qualities which were common to all musicians of the time, many of which had their origin in Italy. We may, then, find the true introduction to the music of the eighteenth century in the Italy which, in the year 1700, was still the stronghold of the art.

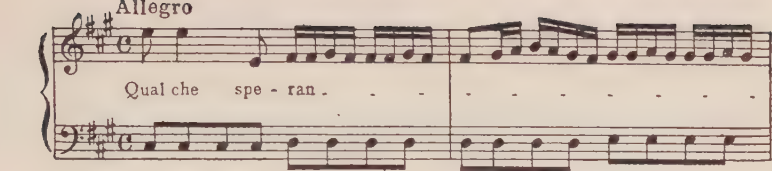
Opera

It will be remembered that Alessandro Scarlatti, the leader of the Neapolitan School, lived until 1725 as one of the most active of Italian operatic composers. But the musical taste which he left Naples to avoid continued to dictate to composers when they wrote operas. That taste was a love for vocal display which made popular idols of singers and led composers more and more into a kind of formality that had within it the seed of artistic sterility and death. Scarlatti's successors in the field of Italian opera, whether they themselves were Italians or Germans, produced thousands upon thousands of scores which, although they have some historical interest, have little if any musical value. The enigma of early eighteenth-century opera is a double one: first, it was almost universally enjoyed and admired; and, second, the operatic composers when they turned from opera to other musical forms wrote much music that has lasting value. The society which worshiped only virtuosity in musical drama, and which made, as Casanova indicates, gambling houses of its theaters, debauched its composers.

The Golden Age of Bel Canto

The extent to which virtuosity had progressed is indicated by the long list of vocalists whose names meet the historian of the period. Senesino (Francesco Bernardi, 1680-1750?) was one of the male contraltos who "never loaded *adagios* with too many ornaments" and "sang *allegros* with great fire, and marked rapid divisions, from the chest, in an articulate and pleasing manner." His life was that of a traveling virtuoso; he sang Italian opera not only in Italy but also in Germany and England. Faustina Bordoni (1700-1781), the wife of the Italianized German composer Hasse, and Francesca Cuzzoni (1700-1770) were the pair of prima donnas whose rivalry is the classic of operatic history. Their fame, and the fame of their quarrels, spread to all parts of Europe. Farinelli (Carlo Broschi, 1705-1782) was perhaps the most famous of all the *castrati*. Hogarth immortalized him in one of the numbers of his *Rake's Progress* by picturing the singer receiving the adulation of a lady whose words are "One God, one Farinelli." Farinelli's travels took him from Italy to France, England, and Spain. The executive powers of these and many others have never been surpassed; they were so great as to prohibit forever modern audiences from having the opportunity to judge eighteenth-century opera for themselves. Charles Burney, the contemporary historian of the eighteenth century, devoted almost a quarter of his work to this same operatic activity. Among other things he illustrates the vocal powers of Farinelli by giving examples of that singer's "divisions," in the opera *Siroe* (1737) by Hasse. The composer's part in the performance is limited to the figured bass. His melody, which was never intended to be sung as written, served as a skeleton for the singer's more or less extempore ornamentation. It was expected that the singer could improve on the composer. Burney's examples follow:

Allegro



Qual che spe - ran -

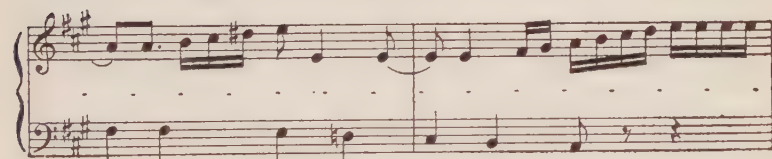
The first system of musical notation features a treble and bass staff joined by a brace. The treble staff has a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a quarter rest followed by a quarter note, then continues with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff contains a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The lyrics "Qual che spe - ran -" are written below the treble staff.



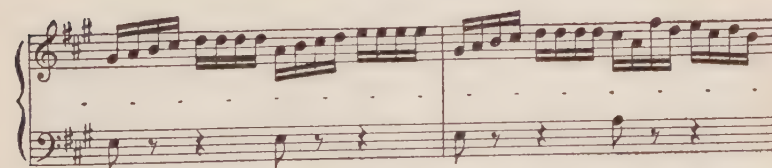
The second system continues the musical piece. The treble staff features a more complex melodic line with many sixteenth notes. The bass staff maintains the eighth-note accompaniment. There are no lyrics in this system.



The third system shows the continuation of the musical piece. The treble staff has a melodic line with some accidentals. The bass staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. There are no lyrics in this system.



The fourth system continues the musical piece. The treble staff has a melodic line with some accidentals. The bass staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. There are no lyrics in this system.

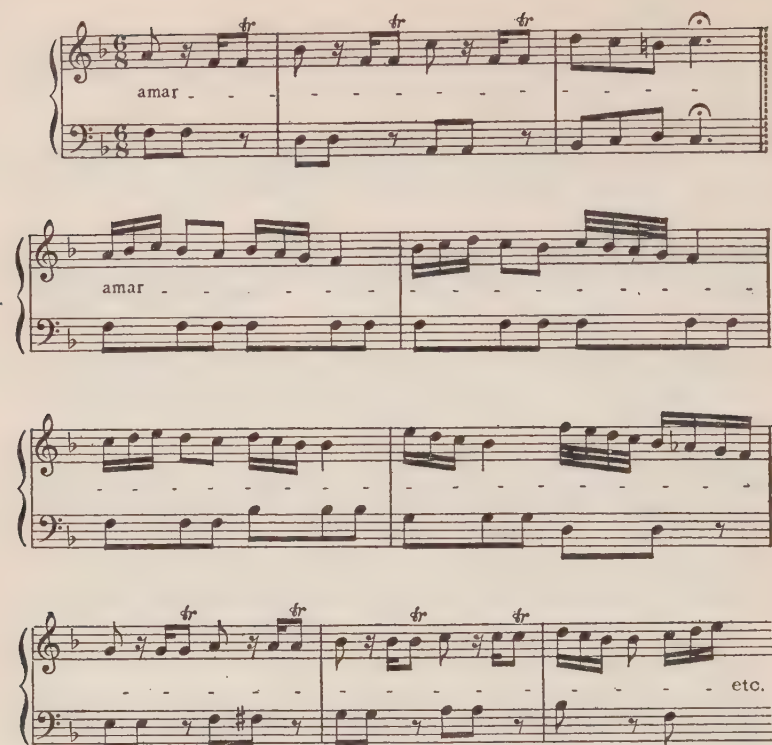


The fifth system continues the musical piece. The treble staff has a melodic line with some accidentals. The bass staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. There are no lyrics in this system.



za

The sixth system concludes the musical piece. The treble staff has a melodic line with some accidentals. The bass staff continues with the eighth-note accompaniment. The lyrics "za" are written below the treble staff.



Formalization: The Arcadian Academy

The formalization of the opera was due in large part to the type of literary activity which interested eighteenth-century Italians. Space forbids a discussion of the Arcadian Academy—that organization of pastoral artificiality which, in overspreading the whole of Italy, made a literary man of every mediocre dilettante and substituted for truth of expression a listless formality that marked the lowest point to which taste can descend. Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) was the adopted son of one of the moving spirits of the Arcadian Academy, Giovanni Vincenza Gravina, who educated him as a poet. Metastasio became poet laureate to the empire; his talents and position were such that he wielded

an immense influence. In his hands the opera libretto became a literary form; in fact, Metastasio is represented as a poet chiefly through his operas. As a writer of poetry for the musical stage, Metastasio knew and influenced almost every contemporary composer of Italian opera. The form of the opera poem, as developed by Metastasio, taken in conjunction with the musical artificialities with which opera had become surrounded, did give rise, however, to some objections. When those objections were expressed in writing, they give a remarkably clear picture of the opera of the period. Carlo Goldoni, who later had some musical influence as a writer of *opera buffa* librettos, reported the advice he got when he submitted a libretto:

"It appears to me that you have tolerably well studied the poetics of Aristotle and Horace, and that you have written your piece according to the principles of tragedy. You do not seem to be aware, however, that a musical drama is an imperfect work, subject to rules and usages, destitute of common sense, I allow, but still necessary to be followed. Were you in France you might take more pains to please the public, but here you must begin by pleasing the actors and actresses; you must satisfy the musical composer; you must consult the scene-painter. Every department has its rules, and it would be treason against the drama to fail in their observance. Listen, then," he continued, "and I shall point out to you a few of those rules which are immutable, and with which you seem to be unacquainted.

"The three principal personages of the drama ought to sing five airs each; two in the first act, two in the second, and one in the third. The second actress and the second soprano can have only three; and the inferior characters must be satisfied with a single air each, or two at the most. The author of the words must furnish the musician with the different shades which form the *chiaroscuro* of the music, and take care that two pathetic airs do not succeed each other. He must observe the same precaution in distributing the bravura airs, the airs of action, the inferior airs, and the minuets and rondeaus. He must above all things avoid giving impassioned

airs, bravura airs, or rondeaus, to inferior actors. Those poor devils must be satisfied with what they get, and every opportunity of distinguishing themselves is denied them."¹

The little satire of the Venetian musician Benedetto Marcello, *Il teatro alla moda*, gives an even better picture of the degradation of Italian opera:

The . . . poet . . . must declare: "That for his part he has never deemed it necessary to read the ancient writers, since the ancient writers never deemed it necessary to read the moderns. He must secure the assistance of some influential person, cook or valet, agreeing to share all dedication fees with him, who will teach him all the names and titles to put on the dedication. He must exalt the family and ancestors of his Maecenas and be profuse in such expressions as munificence, generous soul, etc., and finding nothing to praise in the great personage himself (as is frequently the case) he must explain that he refrains from eulogies for fear of offending his modesty. Fame, with her hundred sonorous trumpets, will re-echo his immortal name from one pole to another. He will conclude his epistle with the declaration that, by way of showing his profound respect, he kisses the jumps of the fleas of the dogs of his Excellency." He will, moreover, write a dissertation on tragedy and poetry in general, quoting Sophocles, Euripides, Aristotle, Horace, etc., and adding that all good rules must "be set aside to meet the requirements of the corrupt time, the absurdity of the theater, the extravagance of the composer, the indiscretion of the singers . . . etc. . . ." The composer must be very humble toward everyone, standing with his hat off before the singers, and showing every possible degree of politeness toward the bear, the *figuranti*, and the candle snuffers; but he is to maintain his station with the poet, "ordering him to put in such and such meters and syllables, insisting on the poem being legibly copied, with lots of commas, semicolons, notes of interrogation, etc., although in his composition he is to pay no attention whatever either to commas, semicolons, or interrogations."

¹ Quoted from Hogarth, *Memoirs of the Musical Drama*.

The singers, male and female, are to keep up their dignity above all things, "never listening to any other actor; saluting the people in the boxes, and joking with the orchestra, that people may clearly understand that he or she is not the Prince Zoroaster but Signor Alipio Forconi; not the Empress Filastrocca but Signora Giandussa Pelatutti. . . . If the singer plays the part of a prisoner, or slave, he must take care always to appear well powdered, with many jewels on his dress, a very high plume, a nice shining sword and chains, which latter he is to clatter frequently, in order to awaken compassion in the audience; the *prima donna* must always raise one arm, then the other, constantly changing her fan from one hand to the other; and if she perform the part of a man she must always be buttoning one of her gloves, must have plenty of patches on her face, must very frequently on entering the stage forget her sword, helmet, or wig." The *seconda donna* "must always insist on the poet making her come out before the *prima donna*, and when she has received her part she must count the words and notes in it, and if there be less than in that of the *prima donna* she must insist on the poet and composer giving her the due number of words and notes, as she must never be inferior to her in the length of her skirts, the amount of paint and patches, in her shakes, embellishments, and cadenzas, protectors, parrots, and owls."

The minute historian of the period must record variations in musical style, "reforms," and other changes which would be of interest were we not dealing with a dead form. The operatic composers make a long list. Many of them were men of talent. They led interesting lives in a period that was witty and elegant; their intense activity not only in Italy, but in all parts of Europe, even as far away as St. Petersburg and Moscow, climaxed the development of Italian musical prestige and completed the diffusion of methods and principles from which later composers were to abstract much that was important. As individuals, however, hardly one can be singled out as having demonstrated the characteristics of a great operatic composer.

Operatic Composers

Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757), the son of Alessandro, was a composer of operas, but he is much more important in connection with his instrumental music. Giovanni Battista Bononcini (1660?-1750?) is important chiefly as a friend, and later a rival, of Handel in London. Antonio Caldara (1670-1736) was a composer with a true gift for melody. Some of his smaller arias are still sung with considerable interest. Antonio Lotti (1667-1740) was important not only as a composer of operas and as a teacher, but also as a choral composer in the true eighteenth-century polyphonic tradition. Francesco Durante (1684-1755) was a master of the highly embellished polyphonic style for the setting of the Latin service. The names of Leonardo Leo (1694-1744), Adolfo Hasse (1699-1783), Niccolò Porpora (1686-1766), Nicola Jommelli (1714-1774), Baldassare Galuppi (1706-1785), Nicola Piccinni (1728-1800), and Antonio Sacchini (1734-1786) cannot be omitted from a discussion of this period. Hasse was a German who was remarkably popular in Italy and Vienna. Porpora was not only a composer but the most successful vocal teacher of his century. Most of the great singers at the middle of the century were his pupils. He was also, for a short time, Haydn's teacher in Vienna. Piccinni will be mentioned again in connection with Gluck. In 1770, when Charles Burney visited Italy, when Handel was old-fashioned, Bach forgotten by almost everyone except his sons who rather looked down on him, Haydn an unknown orchestra director at a country seat in Hungary, Mozart still a boy prodigy, and Beethoven just born at Bonn, Jommelli, Galuppi, and Sacchini were the most famous composers in Europe. The musician who desired to be "up" on "modern" music went to Italy to make their personal acquaintance.

Pergolesi: Comic Opera

One Italian operatic composer of the eighteenth century composed music which marked him as a great composer. That was Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, who was educated in one of the

Neapolitan conservatories. His life was tragically short; he was born in 1710 and lived only until 1736. His last work was the *Stabat mater* which will live even after his one important opera has been forgotten. That opera, however, *La serva padrona*, exhibited such great vitality that it is still occasionally performed. It was not the first comic opera, but as the first great comic opera it exerted an immense influence not only in Italy, but also in France, where its style and method of treatment became a model to the composers at the *Opéra comique*. *La serva padrona* is an *intermezzo*, short, and limited to three characters, only two of whom sing. Pergolesi used only the strings for the accompaniment. But the musical treatment has the directness and simplicity of genius.

"Patch-work" Opera

A short discussion of one other aspect of eighteenth-century opera will serve to close the subject. It illustrates, as nothing else could, the state of artistic conscience. When the composing speed of even the facile composers of the time could not get an opera ready in time, or when some unforeseen event demanded a new piece for the operatic repertoire, managers had recourse to the *pasticcio*, the "patch-work" opera. The *pasticcio*, which might almost be called an operatic form, was "assembled" from any available source, care usually being taken to use only such parts of former operas as had been successful. That little or no expressive connection was felt to exist between music and text is demonstrated by the fact that the original words of songs thus used were often changed to meet the new situation. The *pasticcio* had several interesting implications. Composers often borrowed from their own previous works, with no loss of prestige; and what is even more surprising, they filched entire songs from other composers, and even that practice did not bring them the imputation of artistic dishonesty. No one cared. Anything to please the public and satisfy the singers!

Instrumental Music: The Baroque Ideal

One of the greatest puzzles in the whole course of music history is the disparity in artistic truth and value that exists between the operas of the eighteenth-century Italians and the instrumental music of those same composers. Any explanation of it must delve to the very roots of the dominating aesthetic of a period which can best be described by the word baroque. Baroque architecture, for instance, with its avoidance of straight lines and its emphasis on virtuoso embellishment, is strikingly similar to a music that is demonstrating its own growing virtuosity by means of rich and complex decoration. In architecture and in opera the baroque style failed because the medium was unsuitable: brick and stone place severe limitations upon embellishment, and the effect of excessive decorative floridity was to destroy the unity of the structure as a building. Musical virtuosity is a dangerous rival to dramatic truth, and the effect of its excessive use was to destroy the element which made the *dramma per musica* a true opera. The whole complaint against the baroque ideal is not that it is in itself false, but that it was applied to *media* so unsuitable as to make the resulting art work absurd. In instrumental music, on the other hand, baroque ideals found their most sympathetic medium and their most convincing expression. The fluid and nonmaterial quality of absolute music furnished the ideal outlet for the exuberance and profuse ornamentation which were the essential qualities of baroque art.

Violin Sonata: The Concerto

The first fifty years of the eighteenth century in Italy may be called the golden age for the literature of the violin, both as a solo and as an orchestral instrument. Not only were the two types of sonata subjected to continued refinement, but two related forms, the solo concerto and the orchestral concerto, developed to meet the increasing capacity of the instrument.

The concerto made its entrance at the beginning of the eight

eenth century much as had the sonata at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In its most primitive form it was a composition for voices and organ which stressed, by means of antiphonal treatment, the qualities peculiar to each part of the medium. Thus an early church concerto (*concerto da chiesa*) would have passages for organ alone contrasted to passages in which both voices and organ took part, or passages for voices alone contrasted to passages for voices and organ. Because the early concertos were church forms, the musical method was similar to that of the *sonata da chiesa*—polyphonic.

From this early seventeenth-century beginning, the concerto gradually became an instrumental form, retaining normally its two important characteristics: the polyphonic style and the antiphonal treatment of tonal bodies. The orchestral concerto, or *concerto grosso*, with its movements related to each other in a manner similar to the *sonata da chiesa*, became the familiar form in which instruments played together. Often a group of solo violins were contrasted with an instrumental body composed of strings and reeds; sometimes reed instruments, such as the oboes, were contrasted with a body of strings. No strict rules as to the number, arrangement, or type of instruments seem to have been observed.

The peculiar duality of the concerto instrumentation brought with it a differentiation in musical subject matter. The solo instruments were given a *solo* subject, and the whole group playing together was given its *tutti* subject.

Thus appeared in orchestral music the germ of the idea of contrasting thematic subject matter within one piece of music which, in different surroundings, was to become so important later in the century.

From the *concerto grosso* it was but a short step to the triple, double, and solo concertos which are so common to the period. And because no strict line was drawn with regard to what was admissible to the concerto, it became the repository of all the instrumental forms and technics that were available. Movements which belonged in a suite or *sonata da camera* found place in the concerto. The experience composers had gained with the operatic overture, with its use of strings, reeds, and brass, was

adapted to the concerto. Above all, the concerto was the mirror which reflected the ever-increasing technical facility of all instrumentalists, and violinists in particular.

Corelli's Concertos

Corelli's last and greatest work was a set of twelve *concerti grossi*, Opus 6, published in 1712. These were not the first concertos, but they became the models which later composers followed. In them the instrumental body was divided into two parts: the solo parts, or *concertino obbligato*, were given to two violins and violoncello; the secondary parts, or *concerto grosso* (from which the form took its name), were carried by two violins, one viola, and one violoncello. Corelli's instrumentation was not always followed, but, from his model, the solo parts in the *concerto grosso* were usually limited to three instruments, although the number of accompanying instruments constantly grew larger.

Corelli's Influence: Composers

Corelli's example, not only as a composer, but also as a violinist, gave an immense impetus to the violin and to all types of music related to it. Only the most important of his numerous pupils and followers can be mentioned here. Francesco Geminiani (1674-1762) was a pupil of Corelli, and a composer whose works still interest violinists. A large part of his life was spent in Great Britain where he made a reputation for eccentricity which makes him the prototype of the modern virtuoso. Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin*, published in England, crystallized and made available to future violinists the Corellian principles of violin playing.

Antonio Vivaldi (1680?-1743) combined the vocations of violinist, composer, and priest. His thirty-eight operas have been forgotten, but his numerous *concerti grossi* make him the direct successor of Corelli as a composer for the orchestra. Bach admired some of his concertos enough to make manuscript copies of them. Vivaldi's name is most prominently connected, however, with

his concertos for solo violin, with string-orchestra accompaniment. In them the form of the *concerto grosso* was used to great advantage for displaying the capacities of a single solo instrument. Francesco Maria Veracini (1685-1750) was a brilliant violinist whose sonatas and concertos are remarkable for their technical brilliancy and for a harmonic structure which must have been considered audacious by many of his contemporaries. His influence served as the connecting link between the earlier school and the great violinist-composer of the century, Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770). From 1721 until his death Tartini was solo violinist and conductor of the orchestra at the church of San Antonio at Padua. Tartini's contributions to the literature of the violin were enormous: more than two hundred concertos and an almost unbelievable number of sonatas, of which forty-eight were published during his lifetime. His first publication included one of the two works upon which his present fame rests, the lovely sonata in G minor. The brilliant *Trillo del Diavolo* (Devil's Trill) sonata was published after his death. Tartini's contributions to the art of violin playing form the basis of every modern violinist's technic. He improved the bow, bringing it much closer to the modern bow than it had been, and he demonstrated in his *Arte dell' arco* (Art of Bowing) the use which he made of it. His command of double stops and single and double trills was an important addition to left-hand technic. Most important of all was his understanding of the capacity of the violin as a lyric instrument for intense emotional expression. The sincerity of the first movement of the G minor sonata has hardly been surpassed by any modern composer however "romantic" his tendencies.

The men whose names have been mentioned contributed only a relatively small part of the great violin literature that resulted from the eighteenth-century Italian tradition. The violinist who is interested in really knowing the extent of the music for his instrument will find here an intensely interesting and profitable field for study. Important names are legion: Locatelli, Nardini, Giardini, Pugnani among the Italians, and Leclair, Senaillé, Locillet among the French followers of the same tradition.

The Pianoforte: Cristofori

More pregnant for the future development of musical literature than any other single event of the eighteenth century was the invention, made public in 1711, of the pianoforte. The two older keyboard instruments, the harpsichord and the clavichord, had been the subjects of countless modifications and experiments; in consequence some difficulty has been experienced in tracing the exact evolution of the modern piano. It is safe, however, to attribute the important invention which really defined the new instrument to Bartolommeo Cristofori (1655-1731) of Padua. The basic principles of his hammer mechanism opened the way to the great instrument of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The harpsichord with two keyboards—one with soft plectra to play *piano* and one with hard plectra to play *forte*—had demonstrated the desirability of variation in dynamics, and its constant use was shown by the appearance in music, not only for the keyboard but for other instruments as well, of contrasting passages marked *piano* and *forte*. The great advantage of Cristofori's hammer mechanism, the advantage from which the new instrument took its name, was that the performer could play loudly and softly at will simply by varying the strength of his touch.

Cristofori's pianoforte had some faults—among others it could very easily be “hammered” out of tune. It had to face, moreover, the natural conservatism of performers who were pretty well satisfied with the instruments they already had. Its rise to popularity was, in consequence, rather slow, and the half century after its invention was the most brilliant period for the older harpsichord.

The monophonic tendencies that were noticeable even in Elizabethan virginal music began, in the eighteenth century, and especially in the works of two important Italian composers, to dominate the treatment of the instrument. At the same time the baroque influence was evident in the widespread use of almost extravagant ornamentation. Melodies were often decorated almost beyond recognition; virtuosity seems to have consisted largely in the ability to interlard a melody with mordants, turns, *appoggia-*

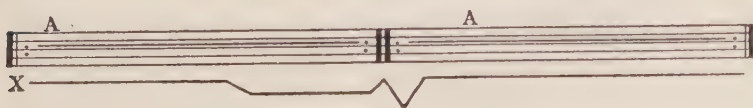
turas, and chromatic scales which seem almost to anticipate the floridity of some of the nineteenth-century virtuosi.

Domenico Scarlatti

Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757) was the great Italian harpsichordist of the period under discussion. Only the most general outline of Scarlatti's life is known. In 1709 he and Handel took part in a friendly competition in Rome, and although Handel was acknowledged to be the better organist, the test ended in a draw as far as harpsichord performance was concerned. It may be doubted that Handel would have succeeded as well twenty years later. Scarlatti's travels as a performer took him to England and to Spain and Portugal, where he remained for many years as instructor to the royal family. His compositions for the harpsichord made a large and important contribution to the literature of that instrument, and because his technic, style, and methods were a preparation for the pianoforte, the music in which they are crystallized belongs also to the literature of the younger instrument.

The Keyboard Sonata

Scarlatti called his compositions sonatas. Except for those of Kuhnau, they were the earliest important pieces for the harpsichord to be so named. They were based on a distinctly "pianistic" style: the interest resulted from a melodic and harmonic treatment which displayed the characteristic qualities of the instrument. Scarlatti's sonatas were no longer music that might have been played on the lute or with a group of stringed instruments. Scarlatti used freely such devices as crossing the hands and breaking up chords into arpeggio figures. The form of a Scarlatti sonata, which is always just one movement, is a binary structure with a ternary tonal pattern. It may be diagrammed as follows:



The letters A indicate the thematic subject matter, to which Scarlatti gave no unified treatment. His coherence was secured largely by reference to the pianistic quality of the music at hand rather than to any organic relationship. The key structure indicated by the line marked X was of definite formal value, and similar to the procedure in other contemporary forms of instrumental music. Part way through the first section the music modulated, either to the relative major or to the dominant. Immediately after the double bar, tonal excursions were made into more distantly related keys, after which a return to the original key was made. Such was the "average" method of formal treatment. Scarlatti was probably unaware that he was making a contribution to formal development that would have important implications later in the century. He was simply using the best way he could invent to express his ideas.

The Alberti Bass

One other Italian harpsichordist deserves mention, if for no other reason than that his name has become connected with a universal pianistic mannerism. Domenico Alberti (1717?-1740?) demonstrated the value of the kind of bass which serves to outline the harmony without producing the "muddy" effect that results from blocks of chords in the bass. Alberti probably was not the inventor of the type of bass illustrated below, but his sonatas popularized it.



Summary

The first half of the eighteenth century was characterized in Italy by the continuation of the movements which had their inception in the last decades of the previous century. The opera

fell victim to the baroque spirit, for which it was not a suitable medium. Some aspects of it, however, were admirable. Much as we are inclined to regret the domination of the vocalists, eighteenth-century opera did produce the greatest singers, from the standpoint of vocal execution, that the world has ever seen. It also continued the monophonic principles which are so fundamental to later music. But the formal conventions with which opera had become surrounded had resulted in a loss of creative freedom which would surely arouse the reforming instinct of some future composer of insight and genius.

Instrumental music continued to show the enormous vitality that had been evident before the year 1700. The great polyphonic instrumental forms, the *sonata da camera*, the *sonata da chiesa*, the *concerto grosso*, and the solo concerto were perfected. The modern school of violin playing began to reach out toward its later perfection; the foundations for the forms and style of the piano were laid. More important, however, an immense body of truly great instrumental music was composed. The music of Italy's eighteenth-century contemporaries to the north has too completely overshadowed, because of the bias of nineteenth-century romanticism, a vast literature that is worthy of the greatest admiration.

Readings

George Hogarth
Charles Burney

Memoirs of the Music Drama
Present State of Music in France and Italy

Vernon Lee

Memoirs of Metastasio
Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy

Leo Smith

Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Romain Rolland

Musical Tour through the Land of the Past

Joseph Goddard

The Rise and Development of Opera

G. Hart

The Violin and Its Music

O. Bie

A History of the Pianoforte

Adam Carse

The History of Orchestration

Louis Adolph Coerne

The Evolution of Modern Orchestration

Herbert Westerby

The History of Pianoforte Music

John Fillmore
 Francesco Algarotti
 Stefano Arteaga
 Benedetto Marcello
 Fritz Meyer
 A. Moser

Pianoforte Music
Saggio sopra l'opera in musica
Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano
Il teatro alla moda
Die Schönsten Sonaten Alter Meister
Geschichte des Violinspiels

22

FRANCE FROM 1700-1750

Rameau

THE MOST interesting aspect of French music during the seventeenth century was the growth of the national operatic tradition under the guidance of Lully. After his death in 1681 there was no dearth of composers who could continue producing works that might have been composed by another Lully of less talent. Progress in French opera awaited, however, the arrival of a new genius, who, in the person of Jean Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) came on the scene early in the third decade of the eighteenth century.

Rameau, the son of an organist, was born in Dijon in 1683. His early education included a thorough training as organist and harpsichordist, a schooling in music theory, and a trip to Italy, from which he returned as a violinist in the orchestra of a theatrical troupe. After holding several positions as organist in southern France, he studied for a time in Paris. Not until 1732, after he had published an important theoretical work and some pieces for harpsichord, did he become a resident of Paris. Within two years after his arrival there he had two operas performed: *Samson*, composed to a text by Voltaire, and *Hippolyte et Aricie*. The second work attracted much attention, both favorable and unfavorable; that Louis XV almost immediately created a post as *Compositeur de*

cabinet for Rameau indicates that he was beginning to be recognized as the logical successor to Lully. With the production, in 1737, of *Castor et Pollux*, much of the objection and surprise which Rameau's new style had elicited subsided, and Rameau became, in as far as possible for one man, the arbiter of French musical taste. As operatic composer, theorist, organist, and hapsichordist, Rameau was the center of the vital musical activity of the Paris of Rousseau and the Encyclopedists.

Rameau's operas, of which he wrote some twenty-five, broke the bonds of tradition which had kept French composers writing in the style and forms which Lully had made so popular. The type of melody and harmony that had been fresh and interesting in the seventeenth century no longer satisfied Rameau. He sought new methods, and in consequence discarded those which had become conventional and no longer expressive. He changed the stereotyped orchestral treatment to a use of instruments, particularly the reeds, for their color values. He ventured into new harmonic treatment, often at the expense of melodic grace, but nevertheless into a kind of musical expression not possible with the trite harmonies of his predecessors. More important than either of these, he gave the music for the ballet a rhythmic freshness and melodic grace that made his dances copied all over Europe.

The "Guerre des Bouffons"; Rousseau: Opéra Comique

That Rameau became the champion of French music was due in part to the characteristically Parisian "War of the Buffoons" (*Guerre des bouffons*), occasioned by the performance in 1752 of Pergolesi's *opera buffa*, *La serva padrona*. The party which supported Italian opera centered around Madame Pompadour, and its arguments were given currency in the writings of Grimm, Diderot, D'Alembert, and Rousseau. Rousseau in particular espoused the cause of Italian music, and even went so far as to compose works in the *buffa* style himself. His little *Devin du village* (1752) had an immense vogue. It popularized the very light operatic style of the Italian *intermezzo* as a type for the

Paris *Opéra comique*, and its influence may be very easily traced in some of the works of Mozart.

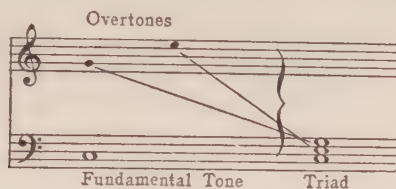
The *Opéra comique* as an institution was founded in 1716, but the type of performance there was rather haphazard until the War of the Buffoons at the middle of the century. The examples furnished by Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* and Rousseau's *Devin du village* crystallized an *Opéra comique* style, which, although it by no means remained static, was influential in bringing about a differentiation between French *Opéra* and French *Opéra comique* quite parallel to that which divided the *opera buffa* from the *opera seria* in Italy. The composer whose name must be mentioned in connection with the early *Opéra comique* was Antoine d'Auvergne (1713-1797), whose *Les troquers*, performed by the institution in 1753, actually worked the change from the haphazard to the clearly defined type.

The viewpoint of the Buffoonists found expression in Rousseau's *Lettre sur la musique française* which closed with the following statement: "The French airs are not airs at all, the French recitative is not recitative. Hence I conclude that the French have not, and cannot have, a music of their own; or, if ever they have one, it will be so much the worse for them." The Buffoonists, however, were not well-trained musicians, as the many mistakes which Rameau pointed out in their articles on music in the *Encyclopedia* clearly demonstrated, and the greatest value their activities had was to consolidate the French party around Rameau. Even those who at first had been offended by his lack of respect for the Lullian conventionalities now came to his support.

A Harmonic Science

There has been some suspicion that the Buffoonists, whose vocal representatives were also the Encyclopedists, were offended because Rameau had actually forestalled their "nature" doctrine in his theoretical works. Be that as it may, Rameau's *Traité de l'harmonie* (1722) was the first of a long series of works which laid the foundation for the modern science of harmony. He observed that a *natural* relationship existed between the tones of a

common triad: thus the tone *c* had as overtones the twelfth, *g*, and the seventeenth, *e*.



By simple transposition a given fundamental tone could be made to furnish, through its overtones, the tones of a common chord, or triad. The importance of this discovery was that it related every chord to its fundamental tone. Thus the chords pictured below are all different aspects, or inversions, of the same tone phenomenon, the triad which has *c* as its fundamental bass.



Rameau did not construct a completed system; but from his works and from the acoustical and theoretical observations made by Tartini and the successors of both of them, the modern science of chord structure and relationship has evolved. Rameau's harmonic discoveries also made imperative the adoption of the system of equal temperament for the tuning of keyboard instruments.

The French Clavecin School

Had Rameau written nothing but harpsichord music, he would deserve honorable mention as a member of the school of performers and composers whose work formed the connecting link between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France. His keyboard music is still performed with much interest, and has inspired such modern composers as Debussy and Ravel. The group of instrumentalists known as the French Clavecin School to which Rameau belonged was headed by François Couperin (1668-1733), called *le grand*, to distinguish him from the less illustrious members of his family. Couperin's younger contemporary was Louis

Claude Daquin (1694-1772). The Couperin family might almost be called a musical dynasty. From the middle of the seventeenth century until 1823, Couperins were the organists at St. Gervais in Paris. That Couperin was professionally an organist was characteristic of the whole school, including Rameau; they played both organ and harpsichord, but composed almost entirely for the latter instrument.

Couperin: The French Suite

Couperin's work gives him an important place in the history of music for the keyboard. While his younger contemporary, Domenico Scarlatti, was breaking a path which finally led to the monophonic sonata, Couperin was making the characteristically French modifications of the suite or *ordre* that influenced Bach when he wrote his "French" suites. The dance suite of Couperin's predecessors and of most of his contemporaries had become a stereotyped succession of dance movements, all in the same key, and all with the same very simple binary structure. The music still showed its relationship to much earlier folk dances, but it was obviously no longer composed to be danced. In France, however, the ballet music of the opera, and particularly the ballet suites that had been arranged from Lully's operas, exerted a revivifying influence on composers who wrote in the dance forms. A transcription of a Lullian ballet for the keyboard instrument was a transcription of music that was written for dancing. Couperin's music clearly showed the influence of the operatic dance, not only in clarity of rhythmic and melodic structure, but in the attempt to imitate the action of the ballet, which resulted in a kind of "program" or descriptive music. Couperin's instruction book, *L'art de toucher le clavecin*, was an important landmark in the development of keyboard technic.

Descriptive Music

The attempt to write descriptive music will always have the same result. With the Elizabethan composers we saw that it led

to a new and better understanding of the keyboard. The same thing may be said of Couperin. The little pieces which have as their titles such names as *La prude*, *Les enjouements bachiques*, and *L'enchanteresse* may demonstrate that such attempts impede a complete working out of musical subject matter, but they added to the technical facility which the keyboard demanded of performers.

Form

Couperin's penchant for descriptive writing must not, however, blind the student of music history to his more solid contributions. His use of the rondo (*rondeau*), the formal structure in which the contrasting episodes are followed by a repetition of the main theme, continued the development of a form that was to become increasingly important. His freedom from the restrictions of a single tonality was, from the modern standpoint, an improvement over his contemporaries. And finally, his facility as an executant made the French Clavecin School at least the equal of any other group of performers in Europe.

The "State of Music"

When the eighteenth-century music historian could think of no other chapter title, he used the phrase "State of Music," thus giving himself an opportunity to describe with little or no reference either to the past or to the future. The "State of Music" in France, and especially in Paris, during the first half of the eighteenth century, had an importance, however, that could hardly escape the notice of even those historians who have viewed music almost wholly as a product of Germany. Paris furnished the environment in which the ideas of the French Revolution were gradually fermented. The men and women who were the intellectual leaders displayed an intense interest in every kind of musical activity. The philosophical principles which were fundamental to a sound harmonic science were as interesting as the aesthetic principles that could determine the relationship the arts of poetry

and music should have to each other in a hybrid form like the opera. No aspect of music escaped discussion.

Paris was the meeting place of two kinds of opera—the French and the Italian. The absurdities of the Italian form were evident, but the enormous advantage of Italian singers over their contemporaries of the French opera was equally evident. Neither national form was perfectly satisfactory. The airing of faults and virtues on both sides prepared the way for the most important episode in operatic history between the time of the Camerata and the middle of the nineteenth century, the reform of Gluck, which will be the subject of a later chapter.

Twenty-four days in the Parisian calendar were closed to operatic performances for religious reasons. Advantage was taken of those days to institute a series of public concerts, the *concerts spirituels*, which mark the beginning of a kind of activity that has had an increasingly important function in musical life. The concerts were founded by Anne Dunican-Philidor in 1725, and given in one of the halls of the Tuileries. Many of the eminent instrumentalists of the time appeared at the concerts; to the atmosphere of the *concerts spirituels* modern concert-goers owe much of the present concert tradition. Until 1728 neither operatic nor French music was allowed. In 1728, when the *Académie royale* took over the management, those restrictions were removed. The concerts continued until 1791 when the troubled times of the Revolution made them undesirable. By 1791, however, the public concert had become commonplace all over Europe, and even to some extent in America.

French Influence

French musicians, like the Italians, were unaware of the shadow under which their work was to fall at the hands of future historians to whom Handel and Bach seem to represent not only a typical cross section, but most that was good and great in the music of the first half of the nineteenth century. How dismally surprised a man like Rousseau would be if he were to know that his *Guerre des bouffons* was a tempest in a teapot when viewed in

the light of a musical art which he neither knew nor understood, the art of Bach! But when we turn to the great Germans we must remember that they owed almost everything but their *spirit* to the musicians of France and Italy.

Readings

George Hogarth

Leo Smith

Romain Rolland

Joseph Goddard

Adam Carse

Louis Adolph Coerne

Herbert Westerby

H. Quittard

Charles Bouvet

J. Tiersot

L. Laloy

L. de la Laurencie

A. Moser

Hermann Kretzschmar

Hugo Riemann

Memoirs of the Music Drama

Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Musical Tour through the Land of the Past

The Rise and Development of the Opera

The History of Orchestration

The Evolution of Modern Orchestration

The History of Pianoforte Music

Les Couperin

Les Couperin

Jean Jacques Rousseau

Rameau

L'Ecole française de violon

Geschichte des Violinspiels

Geschichte der Oper

Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert

HANDEL AND BACH: GERMANY AND ENGLAND: 1700-1750

Background

THE MUSICAL environment in which Handel and Bach received their early training contained the diverse elements that made it representative of all of European musical culture. A musical map of the Germany of 1700 would show not only a highly developed tradition of Lutheran church music in almost every town and city but also a musical court life in which French and Italian instrumentalists, Italian singers, and Italian operatic composers were reproducing activities of their homelands. Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Berlin, and Hamburg were among the centers for opera.

Thus, to limit a discussion of German music during this period to the work of Handel and Bach presents an imperfect picture. A surprisingly thorough training in music was recognized as an important part of the education of the nobility, and there was hardly a court in the whole of Germany where the ruler was not capable of taking part with his musicians in an evening's musical entertainment. With musical cultivation so prevalent, it is not surprising to find, working side by side with the Italians from abroad, a large group of German musicians who would loom much larger had they not been so completely overshadowed by their great contemporaries whose names stand at the head of this chapter.

Fux, Telemann, Mattheson, and Pisendel

Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741) was an organist and composer active in Vienna. His *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which first appeared in 1725, was a textbook in composition. It was used all over Europe and played an important part in the training of many later composers. Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) was a most prolific composer whose fame spread past the boundaries of his homeland. After holding several positions in central Germany, he settled in Hamburg. His compositions cover all the conceivable forms of the time: operas, cantatas, passions, and more than six hundred orchestral suites called French overtures, for which the Lullian form served as a model. Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) was a native of Hamburg, where he spent his entire life. He was characteristic of the facile but shallow type of musician whose conceit allowed him to admit no superior. He was organist, singer, performer on almost every orchestral instrument, composer, and writer. His compositions include oratorios, cantatas, and a few operas. His present importance is due almost entirely to the many books he wrote on a wide range of musical subjects, most important of which are the *Grosse Generalbass-Schule* (1735), *Der Vollkommene Kapellmeister* (1739), and the *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (1740). The first is an instruction book in harmony, the second a description of the qualities necessary for a perfect musical director, and the third a biographical dictionary from which much of our present knowledge concerning Mattheson's contemporaries has come. Johann Georg Pisendel (1687-1755) was one of the leading German violinists of the period. His activities centered around the remarkable musical establishment of the court of Dresden. He had spent some time in Italy, where he had been a pupil of Vivaldi. His compositions include chiefly a large number of concertos in which the violin plays an important part.

Quantz, J. G. Graun, K. H. Graun, Eberlin, and Marpurg

The next generation included many important men who reached maturity before 1750. Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) spent his entire productive life at Berlin and Potsdam, where he was flute teacher, composer, and musical adviser to Frederick the Great. He was a pupil of Fux. His works include more than five hundred concertos and miscellaneous compositions for the flute. His instruction book for the flute, the *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (1752) contains an illuminating discussion of the musical qualifications expected in an instrumental performer. Johann Gottlieb Graun (1698-1771) was a violinist, a pupil of Tartini and Pisendel, and concertmaster at Berlin. He composed much for the violin, and was for a time the teacher of one of J. S. Bach's sons, Friedemann Bach. His brother, Karl Heinrich Graun (1701-1759), was chapelmaster at the Berlin court. His compositions include many operas and oratorios, and some instrumental music. One of his choral works, *Der Tod Jesu* (1755), has been sung on Good Friday at one of the Berlin churches for more than a hundred years. Johann Ernst Eberlin (1702-1762) was chapelmaster at the court of the Archbishop of Salzburg. He produced much organ music and many masses and psalms with orchestral accompaniment. His manner of composition and his selection of music for the court at Salzburg undoubtedly had some influence on the Mozarts, who were also members of the archbishop's chapel. Finally, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795) was one of the composers who flocked to the musical court of Frederick the Great at Berlin. Marpurg's importance is not due so much to his abilities as a composer but to the fact that he was one of the earliest musicians seriously to engage in the type of criticism which has ever since played an important part in musical affairs.

There is no limit to the number of men who might be mentioned in the attempt to present a complete picture of the musical activity of which Handel and Bach were a part. Those who have been singled out for brief mention in the foregoing paragraphs made, individually and collectively, no mean contribution to the

musical culture of Germany. Their best claim to notice in a general historical survey is, however, their value as proof that the so-called "Age of Handel and Bach" was an age much more interesting than two men, however great, could possibly have made it.

Handel

George Frederick Handel¹ (1685-1759) was born in Halle, a small city of central Germany. The objections which his father had to his becoming a professional musician were characteristic of the reaction on the part of the good German "Bürger" (citizen) to the normal gossip concerning the lives of foreign musicians. Handel, in spite of the wishes of his parent, was given a thorough musical training at the hands of the best organist Halle could afford. He learned to play the organ, the harpsichord, the violin, and the oboe. His teacher, Zackau, gave him a remarkable facility in the various aspects of polyphonic technic, counterpoint, canon, and fugue. He was probably familiar, as a boy, with a representative cross section of German music as it was cultivated in the Lutheran Church; certainly his development was almost that of a prodigy. In 1696, as a boy of eleven years, Handel was taken to Berlin where, if the stories are true, he attracted the attention of the Italian composers Ariosti and Bononcini. The incident is unimportant except as it gives an early hint of Handel's later preoccupation with Italian music. Sometime after his father's death, probably in 1702, Handel was given the post of organist at one of the churches in Halle. He was not satisfied to remain there long, however, and in 1703 went to Hamburg, where he began his long connection with opera. Hamburg, it will be remembered, was the important center of German, as opposed to Italian, opera. There Handel found Reinhard Keiser at the zenith of his career, and there, too, he made the acquaintance of other men of nearly his own age, like Mattheson and Telemann, who were to dominate German musical life for the next half-

¹ Handel spent so much of his life in England that the anglicized form of his name is proper in an English book. The German form is Georg Friedrich Händel.

century. In Hamburg Handel insisted on learning as much about opera as he could, and in 1705 his first operas, *Almira* and *Nero*, were performed at the opera house. The success of these early works was not complete, but it was sufficient to demonstrate Handel's ability and to make him the object of uncomfortable intrigues on the part of his colleagues. Feeling that Hamburg had taught him all it could, he set out for Italy where he entered completely into the musical life of the cities he visited. He composed an opera for Florence and during his stay in Rome he produced cantatas and other chamber music. He became a member of the Arcadian Academy, met Domenico Scarlatti in Naples, returned to Rome, where he wrote the opera-oratorio *La resurrezione* and made the acquaintance of Arcangelo Corelli. Finally he went to Naples where he wrote *Agrippina*, an opera later performed with great success in Venice. The Italian journey brought Handel into contact with early Italian opera and instrumental music at one of its most active periods. The two Scarlattis, Lotti, Corelli—these and many others whose names are already familiar—were directing the musical fortunes of Italy. Handel went to Italy an obscure young German, trained in the school of the north; he returned as a composer who had had a brilliant success in the land from which people thought music had sprung, and who had mastered musical methods at their source. He had been welcomed at Rome but had remained a Lutheran.

Handel returned to Hanover where he made the acquaintance of Agostino Steffani, the Italian chapelmaster at the court of the Elector. At Steffani's retirement, which occurred a very short time after Handel's arrival in 1710, Handel himself was appointed chapelmaster. Almost immediately Handel secured permission to go to England, for whose audiences he wished to compose an opera.

England

After the death of Purcell in 1695 no new genius had arisen among English musicians, and in consequence London had begun to draw more completely than ever before on Italy for its musical talent. Until the death of Purcell, opera, or what passed in Eng-

land as opera, had been largely in English, but after 1696 concerts by Italian artists, singing in their own language, began to be more and more common. Finally, in 1703, Italian *intermezzi*, as the comic scenes of the *opera seria* were called, were performed before London audiences. In 1705 the attempt was made to translate Italian opera into English. That it was not particularly successful may be gathered from the words of one of the English actors of the time who wrote that "not long before this time the Italian opera began first to steal into England; but in as rude a disguise, and unlike himself, as possible; in a lame, hobbling translation into our own language, with false quantities, or meter out of measure to its original notes, sung by our own unskillful voices, with graces misapplied to almost every sentiment, and with action lifeless and unmeaning through every character."² The demand for opera increased, however, and Addison, who had made a trip to Italy, attempted to write operas with the help of an English musician. Addison's attempts met with failure. Later in 1707 a *pasticcio* made up of songs of Scarlatti and Bononcini, with recitatives by an English-German musician, Pepusch, was performed with some success. At the arrival of a troupe of Italian singers, some of the songs of this piece were translated into Italian so that they might sing them. In 1710 the opera *Almide*, probably by Bononcini, was performed by Italian singers, wholly in Italian. With this work Italian opera seems to have been fully established in London, and the stage was set for the arrival of Handel.

Handel's Operas

Rinaldo, Handel's first opera for England, was performed at the Haymarket Theater early in 1711. It made a remarkable impression and its composer was hailed as the greatest musician of the time. *Rinaldo* not only demonstrated Handel's genius as a composer, but it undoubtedly changed the course of musical development in England. As an opera which was characteristic of the best productions of the early eighteenth century, it merits

² Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, pp. 261-262.

some description, which may happily be quoted from Burney's *History*:

Though many of Handel's subsequent operas are superior to *Rinaldo*, yet, after a careful examination of such as had been composed by other masters and brought on our stage previous to this, there is something so peculiarly compact and forcible in the style, that I cannot pass it over without particularizing some of its beauties.

The first movement of the overture is grand and majestic. Though the subject of the fugue wants variety, being but one passage repeated three or four times, it has been productive, however, of many beauties of accompaniment, and has a very good effect in performance. The solo parts or episodes for the first violin were frequently used afterwards in his organ concertos, and other compositions. The jig [gigue] is lively, and less vulgar than any movement of that kind, equally ancient, except Corelli's.

The first air, "Sovra balze scoscese," sung by Signora Boschi, has many graceful, new, and pleasing passages in it, though the words are very rough and *unlyrical*. The next air, sung by Isabella, is spirited, ingeniously accompanied, and new. The first air which Boschi sings is a rough defiance, fit for a pagan and a bass voice.³ The next air, sung by his wife, is spirited and pleasing. Then follows an air, "Vieni o cara," which is very characteristic, and, though a jig and for bass voice, not vulgar. "Farie terribile," an air for Armida, is full of genius and fire, and truly dramatic. "Augeletti che cantate" is charming; there is a soothing passage in it which he afterwards used in "Return O God of Hosts."⁴ The duet, "Scherzando sul tuo volto," has in it many pretty passages, though its plan is not dramatic, nor is it so good on the old plan as many duets he afterwards composed. "Cara sposa" is one of the best airs in that style that was ever composed by himself, or any other master; and by many degrees the most

³ Boschi was one of the first great bass singers.

⁴ In connection with this air, the sparrows that Addison satirized in Vol. V of the *Spectator* were turned loose to fly on the stage.

pathetic song, and with the richest accompaniment, which had been then heard in England. The last air in the first act, "Venti turbini," is a capital *bravura*, calculated to display Nicolini's powers of execution and acting.

The first air in the second act, "Siam prossimi," is pleasing, in the favorite style of Carissimi, about the middle of the last century. The Siren's song is an agreeable Siciliana in Handel's own favorite style. "Il tricerbero humiliate," a passionate air, for Nicolini, in which all the parts play in unison and octaves to the voice, on account of its boldness and seeming joviality, had English bacchanalian words set to it; "Let the waiter bring clean glasses," to which it was long sung at merry and convivial meetings all over the kingdom. "Scorta rea" is an agreeable air in two parts, *fugato*. "Mio cor," another spirited air, with no other accompaniment than a base, but it is an admirable song. "Basta che sol tu chiedi" is an excellent base song of an original cast and accompaniment. "Fermati," a duet of infinite genius, spirit and originality. . . . "Ah crudel," the whole opening and conduct of this admirable *adagio*, may be found in the author's hautbois [oboe] concertos. "Vo far guerra," with an accompaniment for harpsichord, which terminates the second act, and which Handel played himself during the run of the opera, must have captivated by the lightness and elasticity of his finger; as it contains not one learned or solid passage. However, he afterwards drew, from the brilliant parts, passages for his harpsichord lessons and organ concertos.

The second air in the third act, "Sorge nel petto," is a soothing and pathetic morsel. The next, "E un incendio," is spirited and pleasing. The violin part reminds us of the accompaniment to a movement in the coronation anthem. "Al trionfo," a duo, which is good music; but the passages all occur in subsequent compositions by our author, particularly in the accompaniment, where we hear the gavot in *Otho*.⁵ "Bel piacer" is a light natural air, wholly unaccompanied even by a base. If the singer, Isabella Girardeau, had a remarkable fine, mellifluous, and steady voice, it was giving

⁵ *Otho* was another of Handel's early London operas.

it a fair hearing in all its purity; which would please natural ears more than those that are *depraved*, in the language of Rousseau, by harmony. "Hor la tromba" is an excellent air of a spirit for Nicolini, with a trumpet accompaniment, and bold and new effects. The last chorus is an agreeable gavot, like that in the overture to *Pastor fido*, and like many other movements in Handel's subsequent works. But no one of them requires us to mount up to the time in which it was composed so much as *Rinaldo*, which has not only been pilaged by others, but by himself. It is, however, so superior in composition to any opera of that period which had ever been performed in England, that its great success does honor to our nation.⁶

It is characteristic, and decidedly worthy of notice, that Burney, in describing Handel's opera, did not think it necessary to tell either the story, or how the musical numbers fitted into the dramatic situation. Writing after the events to be discussed in the following chapter, i.e., the operatic reform of Gluck, the most acute musical observer of the eighteenth century had almost no conception of the opera as a dramatic form.

Handel's first stay in England was short; he soon returned to Hanover to his duties as chapelmaster. But Hanover had no opera, and he tired of the limited musical life of the provincial capital. Consequently, in the autumn of 1712, Handel took up what was to be his permanent residence in London. His first opera after his return to London, *Il pastor fido*, was a failure, but the next, *Teseo*, made up for it. For some time between 1716 and 1720 no opera was performed in London, and Handel was engaged as chapelmaster to the Duke of Chandos, for whom he wrote much instrumental and choral music. In 1720, however, he began his connection with the newly formed Royal Academy of Music, organized to revive opera. Handel made a trip to the Continent in search of singers for the new venture, and on his return organized the musical forces of the Academy and composed *Radamisto* for the first season.

The second season of the Academy brought Bononcini as a

⁶ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, Vol. IV, pp. 223-225.

rival composer, and between this rivalry and the singers mentioned in a former chapter, Senesino and Cuzzoni, Handel began to have difficulties. The rivalry between the two composers produced an interesting bit of doggerel verse which indicates the way London society was divided on the merits of its musicians:

*Some say, compar'd to Bononcini
That Mynbeer Handel's but a Ninny;
Others aver, that he to Handel
Is scarcely fit to hold a candle:
Strange all this difference should be
Twixt Tweedle-dum and Tweedle-dee.*

The Beggar's Opera

The Academy of Music struggled along until 1729, when the curious *Beggar's Opera*, concocted by Gay and Pepusch, took away the audiences and left the enterprise bankrupt. *The Beggar's Opera* was characteristic of the actual taste of London audiences, and it also serves as a milestone in the history of English music. It was not only a good show but also a satire of the opera. Part of the Beggar's speech in the Introduction will indicate the extent to which the satire was carried:

This piece I own was originally writ for the celebrating the marriage of James Chanter and Moll Lay, two most excellent ballad-singers. I have introduced the Similes that are in all your celebrated Operas: The Swallow, the Moth, the Bee, the Ship, the Flower, etc. Besides I have a prison scene, which the ladies always reckon charmingly pathetic. As to the parts, I have observ'd such a nice impartiality to our two ladies that it is impossible for either of them to take offense.⁷ I hope I may be forgiven, that I have not made my opera throughout unnatural, like those in vogue; for I have no Recitative; excepting this, as I have consented to have neither

⁷ Two of Handel's prima donnas, Cuzzoni and Faustina, are said to have pulled each other's hair during a performance.

Prologue nor Epilogue, it must be allow'd an Opera in all its forms.⁸

The Beggar's Opera was properly a ballad opera, and as such was the forerunner of the musical comedy. Its music, with the exception of an overture composed by Pepusch, was a compilation largely of folk songs. One of its most popular pieces was purloined from Handel himself, and the works of Purcell contributed another. The importance of the piece, aside from its undoubted value as a satirical musicodramatic work, was that its popularity demonstrated the fact that Italian opera, sung in Italian, could not permanently and profitably attract the attention and interest of English audiences.

Handel's Oratorios

Although Handel continued to write operas until 1745, he was never again completely successful. Trouble with singers, with audiences, or with creditors nearly always destroyed what musical success he might have had. Only when he turned from the Italian opera to the English oratorio did he achieve the success upon which his immortality is based. Although his operas contain much music that is undoubtedly the work of genius, they are generally as inaccessible as the operas of his contemporaries, and for the same reasons. The oratorios, on the other hand, struck fire immediately; they were a fit vehicle for the English singing tradition, and although they were composed by a German composer trained in the Italian School, they filled the same need that had been met by the composers of the Elizabethan and Restoration periods.

Handel's choral compositions to English words did not begin suddenly with the oratorios. As early as 1713 he had composed a *Te deum* and a *Jubilate* in celebration of the Peace of Utrecht. During the period when he was chapelmaster to the Duke of Chandos he had produced many anthems, and at least one oratorio, *Esther*. But with the performance of the *Messiah* in 1742, first in Dublin and later in London, the oratorio took somewhat the aspect of a national musical form. After a last attempt at opera

⁸ Gay and Pepusch, *The Beggar's Opera*.

during the season 1744-1745, Handel devoted himself entirely to oratorio.

Handel conceived the oratorio as a dramatic form and brought his vast operatic experience to bear on it. Aria and recitative in a Handel oratorio are treated in the same manner as they are in a Handel opera. The great difference between the two forms are that the English language is used in the oratorio and that the chorus, which had no function in opera, is given a large part in the oratorio. Incidentally, the English oratorios made no use of the artificial voices that were so characteristic of Italian opera. Had the Italian *castrati* been capable of singing in English, and had Handel, in consequence, written solo parts for male soprano and contralto voices, his place in music history, or at least in the modern concert room, might have been altogether different.

The oratorio provided Handel with a popular form in which he could use all of his great powers. As a composer of Italian opera he was fully prepared for the demands of oratorio solo song. As a composer whose early training had included acquaintance with the choral methods of both the northern polyphonists and the Roman ecclesiastical composers he inherited all of the diverse choral styles. As an instrumentalist he was familiar not only with the organ styles of north and south but also with the capacities of all orchestral instruments. As a great genius he was able to weld all of these different and sometimes contradictory elements into a broad, clear, and often sublime style of his own. And finally, as an intensely human person, his genius enabled him to convey into the musical settings of his oratorio texts a sympathetic characterization which makes them truly and permanently dramatic, in the best sense of that word.

Summary

The list of Handel's works is a long one: twenty-two oratorios, forty-seven operas, innumerable pasticcios, odes, dramatic pieces, anthems, and finally instrumental music which includes the famous "Water Music," the organ concertos, and sonatas and concertos for the most varied kinds and groups of instruments.

Handel represents, perhaps better than any other composer of

his time, the truly cosmopolitan musician. A well-defined period in musical history was ending. The polyphonic methods which Willaert brought to Italy from the Netherlands had, with much modification, branched in two important directions: to the north as a contrapuntal choral and instrumental art, and to the south as an important aid to the monophonic methods of the opera. In the person of Handel the two rejoined; the Handelian oratorio was the great result. But the end of the period cannot be completely understood except in the light of a new polyphonic climax, similar in many ways to that which preceded the discovery of the opera. The man who represents the high point of the new tonal polyphony is the other great German, Bach.

Bach

Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) was the greatest member of a musical dynasty even more extensive than that of the Couperins. Born in Eisenach, in central Germany, he, unlike Handel, spent his whole life within a comparatively short radius of his birthplace. He received his early musical education from his father, and after his father's death from his elder brother. He learned to play the violin, the harpsichord, and the organ, and as a boy soprano he sang in the choir of the academy where his brother was a teacher. In 1700 he secured a post at the school of St. Michaels at Lüneburg, near Hamburg, where, in exchange for his own education, he played violin and sang in the choir. During his stay at Lüneburg he often went to Hamburg, drawn not by the opera, as had been the case with Handel, but by the organ playing of Reincken. He also had opportunity to hear the ducal orchestra at Celle, a small court where the chief interest seems to have been in French instrumental music. At Lüneburg, too, he began the process of self-instruction which continued until the end of his life. He actually had no formal teacher; largely through his own efforts he mastered not only his instruments, the violin, the harpsichord, and organ, but trained himself superlatively in the solid polyphonic technic of his German contemporaries.

As a young man whose fame as an organist and composer was gradually attracting attention, he held several posts: in 1703 as

violinist in Weimar; from 1703 to 1707, during which time he visited Buxtehude at Lübeck, as organist and choir director at Arnstadt; from 1707 to 1708 at Mülhausen. From 1708 until his death in 1750 Bach's life may be divided into three distinct periods in which his musical activities were largely determined by the positions he held.

The Weimar Period

The first of the three periods dates from 1708 until 1717, and may be called the Weimar period. He was attached to the court at Weimar as organist and violinist. Here he not only perfected his organ playing and his knowledge of organ construction, but he began to compose in earnest. But his studies continued. Without Handel's opportunity to travel to Italy, Bach studied all the Italian and French music he could find. He undoubtedly became familiar with much of the great music that was foreign to the ordinary experience of the German provincial organist. The French and Italian instrumentalists who were developing a new breadth of formal structure, together with characteristic styles, made an impression on Bach which is evident in his own compositions. His Weimar compositions include many of his important works for organ, some of his early church cantatas, and some of the harpsichord suites.

The increase in the recognition which came to Bach is demonstrated by the numerous journeys he undertook. He was invited to Cassel to dedicate an organ. He made trips to Leipzig and Halle, in which latter city he was sought as town organist. His Leipzig journey was probably for the purpose of hearing Italian opera. During a trip to Dresden occurred the famous incident of the challenge to a trial of skill given by Bach to Marchand, the French harpsichordist, a challenge which the conceited Marchand was afraid to accept.

The Cöthen Period

The second period extended from 1717 to 1723. During that time Bach was chapelmaster to the Prince of Anhalt-Cöthen at

Cöthen. There Bach had no organ, and his attention was perforce given to the harpsichord and the orchestra. From this period dates most of his important instrumental music. He developed his original ideas concerning keyboard technic, including a new use of the thumb and a curved position of the hands in fingering, and illustrated his conception of the possibilities of equal temperament by composing the first volume of the *Well-Tempered Clavichord* (*Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, 1722). Most of the concertos for solo instruments, as well as the orchestral works known as the *Brandenburg Concertos*, were composed at Cöthen. During the Cöthen period, too, he made the trip to Hamburg where he played for the aged Reincken.

Leipzig: The Lutheran Tradition

In 1723, owing partly to the fact that Cöthen did not offer sufficient facilities for the education of his growing family, Bach became cantor at the Thomasschule in Leipzig, where he succeeded Kuhnau. The duties of the cantorship were manifold: as cantor of the school from which singers were drawn for the four leading Leipzig churches Bach was responsible for most of the religious music of the town; as actual musical director for two churches he had to arrange and prepare the weekly musical services; as musician to the university he found many demands made upon his time and energies. In spite of the difficulties of his position, however, this was Bach's most productive period. His reputation attracted many pupils, and his powers both as a teacher and a composer were at their height. He was confronted by the inroads the Italian opera was making on popular taste, but he continued, as a devout Lutheran, to produce for the service of his church music that marks the climax of the great Lutheran tradition. The bulk of the cantatas, of which he composed more than two hundred, sacred and secular, belong to this period. The great *Passions* of St. John and St. Matthew, the *Christmas Oratorio*, and the monumental *Mass in B minor* were written for Leipzig. Although the choral aspect of his art received the preponderance of his attention, he found time for much organ music—preludes and fugues, choral preludes and toccatas. He completed a second volume of preludes

and fugues for the *Well-Tempered Clavichord*. Near the end of his life he produced two important works: in 1747 *A musical Offering* (*Ein musikalisches Opfer*), and in 1749 *The Art of Fugue* (*Die Kunst der Fuge*). *Ein musikalisches Opfer* was the result of a trip to Potsdam where he had visited Frederick the Great, who was himself an accomplished composer for, and performer on, the German flute. The king had given him a theme for improvisation, and after his return to Leipzig Bach used that theme as subject for a whole volume of contrapuntal compositions dedicated, as a "musical offering," to the king.

Bach's last years contained many elements of tragedy. The younger musicians, including his own sons, had tired of the solid polyphonic style and were coming more and more to adopt the "modern" manner. Bach was out of touch, and when he died, a blind old man, his friends marked the passing of a great organist, but they had already largely lost interest in him as a composer. In their extenuation it must be said that Bach's greatest works had not been published during his lifetime, and were available only to the musician of antiquarian tastes who was willing to rummage the church libraries in Leipzig. But that Bach was not immediately appreciated does not detract from either the greatness of his music or the influence of his personality.

Bach's Works

No discussion of Bach's works can pretend to do justice to them. Only through an intimate acquaintance with the music can the student hope to understand a greatness which places Bach among the immortals. And it must be added that a cursory examination of even a representative selection of Bach's music cannot hope to convey much more than a faint impression of the imaginative and intellectual creative efforts of the man's whole life work. We meet here, not for the first time, to be sure, but for the first time in such magnitude, a segment of musical *literature* in which the language used is not only distinctly modern in flavor, but is also the medium through which the old language *became* modern. The unfortunate effect of Schumann's remark about Bach as the founder

of modern music has been pointed out in another place; praise of Bach should not be construed as dispraise of his predecessors. The fact none the less remains that the musicians of the nineteenth century owed more to Bach's understanding of melodic value, harmonic plan, contrapuntal solidity, and expressive purpose, than to any other single composer. In a sense, he taught them all.

Music for Use

Bach, like all other great composers, composed music because of an inner compulsion that craved expression. But he did not live in an atmosphere which could provide him with an "ivory tower" from which he could serve only that inner compulsion. He lived in a world where the composer's craft had an everyday usefulness, in which the composer was an "official" who composed the music that was needed. The modern concert, wherein music came to be used for display purposes, was not yet an important factor in the musical scene, and the publication of music was so restricted that most exchanges of music took the form of lending manuscript copies.

Bach's greatness is clear in spite of the fact that nearly all of his music was written to meet the demands of his official employment. He composed for the choirs and instruments at his disposal, music for immediate use, music which, unless its purpose was pedagogical, would be put away on the library shelf until it was needed again. The kinds of needs which Bach's music fulfilled illuminate not only his life as a musician but also the place and function of music in his time.

The organ playing of Bach's time in Germany was based on the use of the instrument in church. The hymn tunes, chorals, of the Lutheran Church were the organist's primer. Bach's music for organ reflects this relationship. In his choral preludes, used to introduce the seasonal hymn, he used nearly eighty of the hymn tunes which were the familiar property of every member of his congregation. The title of one collection, the *Orgelbüchlein* (*Little Book for Organ*), gives a characteristic insight into the use for which it was intended:

A Little Book for Organ, wherein the beginner may learn to perform chorals of every kind and also acquire skill in the use of the pedal, which is treated uniformly obligato throughout

*To God alone the praise be given
For what's herein to man's use written.*

Composed by Johann Sebast. Bach, *pro tempore* Capellmeister to His Serene Highness the Prince of Anhalt-Cöthen

Much of Bach's music which is now usually performed on the piano was written with similar usefulness in mind. The *Inventions* and *Symphonies*, composed first as part of his son Friedemann's *Clavier Büchlein*, were copied out in 1723 with this title:

A faithful guide, in which lovers of the clavichord, particularly such as are truly anxious to learn, may find a clear system for clean playing in two parts, and for correct and finished playing in three; and at the same time, a model on which they may learn how to form inventions and develop them, and, above all, acquire a *cantabile* style in their playing, and receive an incentive and taste for composition.

The Well-Tempered Clavichord was conceived with several purposes in mind. These are expressed in the title to the first volume. They exhibited the value of the new "well-tempered" tuning, they were exercises for learners, they were *music* for the artist:

The well-tempered Clavier; or, Preludes and Fugues on every tone and semitone, with the major third Ut, Re, Mi, and the minor third Re, Mi, Fa. [Bach's way of saying "on every tone and semitone, *in both major and minor*.] For the use and profit of young musicians anxious to learn, and as a pastime for others already expert in the art. Composed and put forth, by Johann Sebastian Bach, presently Capellmeister and Director of Chamber Music at the princely Court of Anhalt-Cöthen. Anno 1722.

When the choral works are considered, the fact that they were written for specific occasions and uses becomes apparent from the works themselves. The sacred cantatas group themselves around the church calendar or were composed for specific religious services such as funerals. The secular cantatas were largely "made to order"—to celebrate birthdays, name days, or to do honor to important persons.

Hundreds of musicians of Bach's time composed music much like his, answering the same or similar needs, and using technical means that often have caused their music to be confused with his. Bach's greatness grew out of qualities only distantly related to the needs of his official status. The demand upon him for music gave him the opportunity he needed to write himself into music.

Style

Bach's style evolved out of and revolves around Bach as an organist. He massed his tonal structures and built his climaxes from the standpoint of the organ. His early training as a singer, and his playing of the violin and the harpsichord, taught him the boundaries of the possibilities of those media, but the breadth and grandeur of musical conception which he got from the organ made him always seem to crowd those boundaries. Bach discovered little that was absolutely new in the field of musical materials. The forms which he used, the instruments for which he made music,⁹ the polyphonic methods by which he composed, may all be traced in the works of his predecessors. Facility in the handling of musical materials, glibness in the use of harmonic sequences, rhythmic patterns, and melodic figures—the acquisition and effortless use of a large "bag of musical tricks"—might be the accomplishment of men like G. P. Telemann, a composer whose fame in his own day was far greater than Bach's, but Bach went much further. Although his music was necessarily related to the idiom of the time, the whole matter of technical procedure was made

⁹ Bach did invent a new instrument, the *viola pomposa*, which was a large viola played in the manner of a violoncello. It was not generally adopted.

secondary to an expressive purpose. Music was for him not only a pleasant pastime but also a great vehicle of artistic expression. In the hands of Johann Sebastian Bach music "grew up." That it took several generations for musicians to grasp the significance of that maturity is not surprising.

That music like the "Chaconne" for solo violin, or the *Kyrie* or *Crucifixus* from the B-minor Mass, or the "Passacaglia" in C minor for the organ, is completely successful in relation to the expressive purposes only emphasized, by a perfectly logical aesthetic inference, the fact that Bach was a great musical architect. The polyphonic forms that were such an important result of the musical processes of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries found in the music of Bach the realization of their full value. Before proceeding to the next important steps in musical evolution we must devote some attention to a description of the forms.

Readings

Romain Rolland	<i>A Musical Tour through the Land of the Past</i>
Newman Flower	<i>G. F. Handel</i>
William Streatfeild	<i>Handel</i>
W. S. Rockstro	<i>The Life of George Frederick Handel</i>
Romain Rolland	<i>Handel</i>
J. Mainwaring	<i>Memoirs of the Life of Handel</i>
Philipp Spitta	<i>Life of Bach</i>
Albert Schweitzer	<i>J. S. Bach</i>
C. H. H. Parry	<i>Johann Sebastian Bach</i>
Charles Sanford Terry	<i>Bach, A Biography</i>
	<i>Bach: The Historical Approach</i>
	<i>The Music of Bach</i>
	<i>Bach's Orchestra</i>
J. N. Forkel	<i>Johann Sebastian Bach</i>
P. Robinson	<i>Handel and His Orbit</i>
Charles E. Pierce	<i>Polly Peacham [Beggar's Opera]</i>
R. A. Streatfeild	<i>The Opera</i>
George Hogarth	<i>Memoirs of the Music Drama</i>
Herbert Westerby	<i>The History of Pianoforte Music</i>
John C. Fillmore	<i>Pianoforte Music</i>
Adam Carse	<i>The History of Orchestration</i>

Louis Adolph Coerne
Friedrich Chrysander
Hermann Kretzschmar
Arnold Schering

The Evolution of Modern Orchestration
Händel
Geschichte der Oper
Geschichte des Oratoriums

24.

MUSICAL FORM AT THE DEATH OF BACH: 1750

Review

THE MUSICAL forms made use of by Bach represent the accomplishments of almost a thousand years in the evolution of musical architecture. Most of those forms took on a clear definition in the less than two centuries preceding the middle of the eighteenth century. Not until then had the conception of, and ability to use, musical materials progressed to the point where independent musical form could become possible.

We have seen the fundamental principles of musical structure appear in the verse-chorus forms of the troubadours and the imitation of subject matter in pieces like *Sumer is icumen in*. Until music was freed from its dependence upon a verbal text progress was slow, but over several centuries the polyphonists gained an immense facility in the use of the imitative devices which could give a coherent solidarity to compositions of quite extended length. In the sixteenth century the growing tendency to modulation from one mode to another, with a final return to the original mode, gave hints of the powerful influence that tonality would later exert on musical structure. Finally the understanding of tonality that came in the seventeenth century gave the polyphonists the final tool with which to make a polyphonic form based on imi-

tation and tonal contrast. Further, the opera taught composers the value of clearly defined and striking subject matter. With the possibility of contrasting both tonality and subject matter the materials for satisfactory musical form were available.

Equal Temperament

The technical discoveries of the early eighteenth century, most important of which were the scientific explanations of Tartini and Rameau, and the system of tuning exemplified by Bach in the two volumes of the *Well-Tempered Clavichord*, made themselves felt to some extent before 1750, but their implications were not fully understood. Bach's *feeling* for true harmonic values far exceeded anything that could be hoped for from Rameau's science, and no musical form, until the middle of the nineteenth century, was large enough to make a very extended use of the freedom of modulation implied in equal temperament.

The Vocal and Choral Forms: Opera

The opera as a form needs little discussion. By 1750 a clear differentiation had arisen between the *opera buffa* and the *opera seria*. The *opera buffa* was comedy opera, usually short, and making use of few characters. The *opera seria* was the grand and tragic form. In France the *opéra* was clearly related to the Italian *opera seria*; the most obvious differentiation was to be found in the French use of the formal ballet. The *opéra comique* was the lighter French form in which the dialogue was spoken. The English ballad opera and the German *Singspiel* were invariably comedies in which the dialogue was spoken and the songs were ballads rather than arias. Aside from these rather superficial points of difference, the various national operatic forms differed greatly in conception of poem and style of music and singing.

The Oratorio

The growth of this form from the early work of Cavaliere to the great oratorios of Handel and Bach has been traced sufficiently to indicate its relationship to both opera and motet. Recitative and aria in the oratorio were, with only such changes as would be dictated by the religious character of the text, similar to their operatic prototypes. The choruses, which had gradually been largely omitted from opera, formed a large part of the oratorio.

The Passion

The passion was essentially an oratorio using as its text the New Testament story, as told by one of the Evangelists, of the Passion of Jesus Christ. Although the oratorio and the passion have much in common, the passion has one important distinguishing characteristic in the use it makes of the choral, which is included as a song to be sung by both choir and congregation.

The Mass

The Mass has always been, as has already been shown, a musico-liturgical form. Composers had always used the Latin text of the ordinary part of the Mass as the basis for composing their most devout music. Although the tendency to continue what came to be known as the "Palestrina style" for liturgical music was strong, many composers used the new dramatic style, with orchestral accompaniment, thus making the Mass, as a musical form, a near relative of the oratorio.

The Cantata

The cantata was at first a piece of vocal chamber music in the style and form of the operatic aria. The name gradually came to be applied to a larger, semidramatic form, quite similar to

the oratorio, although much smaller in extent. In the Lutheran service it was quite common for the choir, soloists, and organist (sometimes assisted by a small orchestra) to perform a cantata based upon the Biblical passages which served as the day's text. The more than two hundred sacred cantatas of Bach were written for this purpose. Aside from its sacred use, virtually the same form was used secularly; witness such a work as Bach's *Kaffee Cantata*.

The Motet

The motet has been overlooked in our study of music during the period from 1600, not because it was no longer cultivated, but because musical development had become concentrated in the secular aspect of the art. It continued to be an important choral form, polyphonic in style, and making use of a chorus divided into as many as eight or more parts. Bach's contribution to the literature of the motet was large and important.

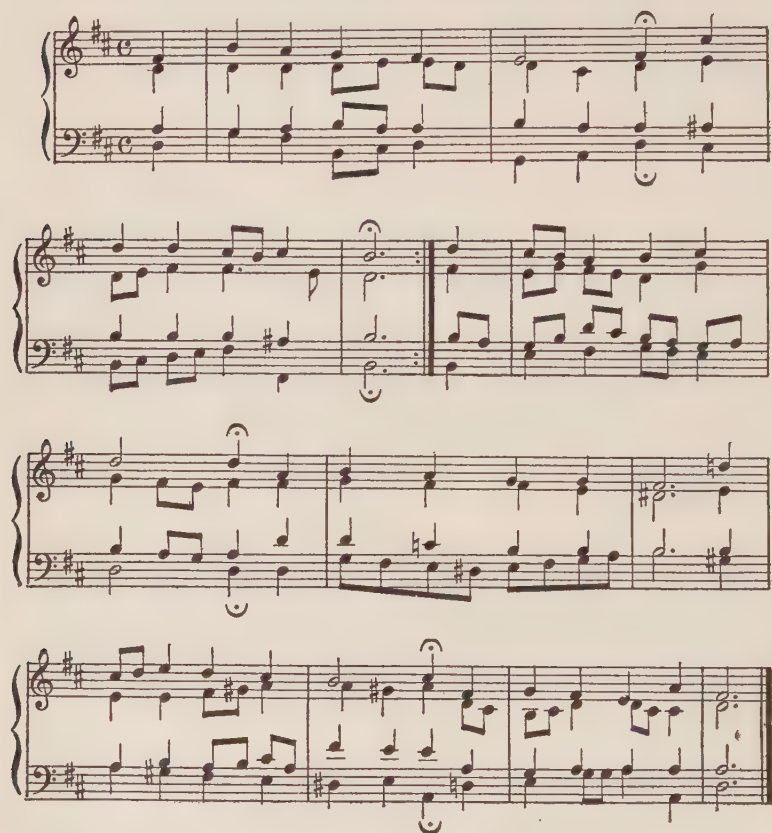
The Anthem

As is the case with the names of other choral forms, the word *anthem* does not describe any particular architectural device but was used rather loosely as the name for a type of religious choral song. The word itself is derived from the older word *antiphon*. The anthem was a distinctly English form.

The Choral

The choral is a short hymn, composed in four parts in syllabic counterpoint. The style of the choral was undoubtedly derived both from a much more ancient Teutonic folk-song idiom and from the age-old plain song. Its use by Martin Luther as the congregational song of his church exerted a profound influence on the musical development of Germany. The choral plays an important part in Bach's works, not only in the choral preludes

for organ, but also in the passions and sacred cantatas. Bach composed nearly four hundred harmonizations of chorals. The famous *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* appears with five harmonizations in the collection of his chorals, and he also used its music as settings for chorals in the St. Matthew Passion:



The Aria

The aria has entered extensively into the discussion of the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It must be remembered that by 1750 it belonged not only in the opera but was to be found also in the oratorio, passion, cantata, and even, although

less commonly, in the Mass. The A B A, or repetition-after-contrast, formula had become the accepted form.

The Instrumental Forms: The Overture

The overture in its Italian and French forms has already been sufficiently described. It was seldom used independently, but when it was, as has been noticed with the overtures of Telemann, it closely approached a suite in general outline.

The Suite, Partita, Ordre, Sonata da Camera

The suite, partita, *ordre*, or *sonata da camera*, was composed of a series of dance movements with no absolutely rigid order, but nearly always all in the same key. The simple and normal order of movements is as follows: allemande, courante, sarabande, gigue. Very often, however, the allemande is preceded by a prelude, and many composers habitually interpolated other movements between the sarabande and the final gigue. These extra movements might be gavottes, minuets, lourés, polonaises, bourrées, rondos, passepieds, and sometimes even movements marked arias.

The Sonata da Chiesa

The *sonata da chiesa* was made up of a group of movements, usually three, four, or five in number. Although by 1750 some of the slower dance movements, like the sarabande, the chaconne, and the siciliana had found a place in "church" sonatas, ordinarily the movements were clearly polyphonic, showing their descent from the older *canzona* and *ricercare*. Examples of this type of sonata are the sonata in A major for violin and piano (harpsichord) by Handel, the sonata in G minor for the same instruments by Tartini, and the six sonatas for violin and piano (the so-called "cembalo" sonatas) by Bach.

The Concerto

The concerto could be used, as has already been shown, as a form either for the orchestra or for solo instrument or instruments with orchestra. The treatment of subject matter was largely polyphonic, which indicated the relationship of the concerto to the *sonata da chiesa*. The form was distinguished by the duality of the subject matter: a *tutti* subject contrasted with a *solo* subject. Example after example of this form are available; the Bach concerto in D minor for two violins and string orchestra demonstrates the manner of construction and treatment with great clarity.

The Canon

The canon, one of the earliest forms to result from the polyphonic treatment of subject matter, and the device by which musicians taught themselves many of the possibilities of such treatment, continued to function as one of the musical forms.

The Invention

The invention was the name given (by Bach) to pieces of small dimensions written in rather strict fugal imitation. Bach differentiated between pieces in two and in three parts by calling the first inventions and the second sinfonias.

The Sinfonia

Sinfonia, or symphony, was used very loosely before 1750. Generally it described small instrumental pieces with no prescribed internal structure. Most characteristic is the "Pastoral Symphony" in Handel's *Messiah*.

The Prelude

Prelude (*intrada*) was the name given to music in almost any style or form that served to introduce a more important movement. Sometimes it was a display piece similar to the toccata; often its structure was polyphonic. The prelude reflected, in its musical treatment, the characteristics of the instrumental medium for which it was intended.

The Choral Prelude

The choral prelude (*Choral-Vorspiel*) was an organ form that grew out of the necessities of the Lutheran service. The melody of the hymn was used as a *cantus firmus*, serving thus as a foundation for the most elaborate treatment in the process of which the original melody often became submerged.

The Toccata

The toccata developed out of the rapidly growing technical aspects of the keyboard instruments. By 1750 it was almost always a vehicle for the display of virtuosity. The toccata could include almost any type of musical treatment, from a beginning made by introducing a theme in successive voices to episodes of brilliant passage work. Even music imitative of dramatic recitative sometimes found its way into the toccata.

The Variation

The variation grew out of the medieval and Renaissance use of a *cantus firmus* as the basis for musical composition. When the *cantus firmus*, or the melody which took its place, was repeated with varying treatment, the whole composition became a variation. Two distinct types of variation became common: first, the type in which the melodic fragment remained in the bass as a *basso ostinato*; and second, the type in which the melody

moved from one part to another. Early variation forms, based on well-known melodies, were the *romanesca* and the *folia*. Later, the variation technic was combined with the rhythmic characteristics of such dances as the *chaconne* and the *passacaglia*.

The Dance Form

The dance form has already been described in another connection. Subject to varying degrees of refinement, its formal principle achieved contrast by key change, or modulation, using only one definite thematic subject. The sonatas of Domenico Scarlatti were built on a similar plan but had largely had their dance character replaced by "pianistic" interest.

The Rondo

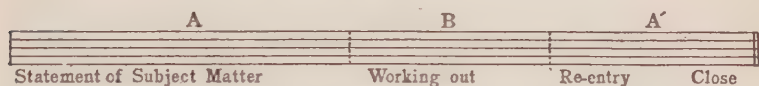
The rondo form, an A B A C A structure, was often combined with the characteristic rhythmic procedure of a dance, as for instance the *gavotte-rondo* which Bach sometimes used.

The Fugue

During the period under discussion this form, the most characteristic of the whole period of tonal polyphony, attained its highest development. The fugue, simply as a structure, is of the utmost significance to the history of music. It is the final realization of the efforts of thousands of musicians to achieve a great tonal structure which could be conceived only in terms of pure music. It occupies a place in the history of musical art comparable to that occupied by the Gothic cathedral in the history of architecture. It is the climax of the search for form which began at the invention of organum. No one of the diverse musical discoveries made between 900 A.D. and 1700 A.D. failed to contribute something to the conception of music which made the fugue possible. The great fugues of Bach—the forty-eight of the *Well-Tempered Clavichord*, and the great organ and choral fugues, are the superb climax. Their greatness lies not in their architec-

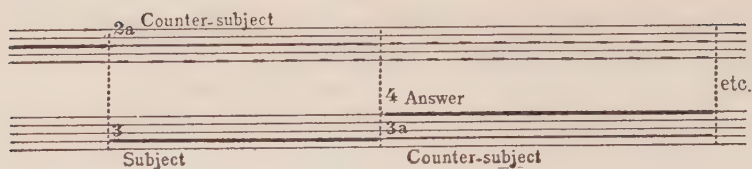
tural perfection—some of Bach's predecessors had achieved that—but in their achievement of expressive truth.

The fugue, contrary to the generally accepted notion, did not become a stereotyped formula, but was so conceived that within the confines of a fairly definite mode of procedure the most varied kind of treatment was possible. In general outline the fugue consists of three divisions: first, the section in which the subject, with its accompanying material, is enunciated; second, the section in which the thematic material is elaborated; and third, the section in which the original subject matter re-enters, is worked to a climax, and brought to a close. Reduced to its simplest basis, then, the fugue appears as a three-part form:



The nature of the polyphonic treatment demands, however, some explanation. The number of voices, or independent parts, which enter into the fugal fabric may vary from two to six or more. The manner of introducing each voice is always imitative as well as characteristic of the beginning of a fugue. The first voice enters with the subject. As the second voice enters, usually in the dominant, and with the same theme, now called the answer, the first voice continues with the counter-subject. This process continues until all the voices have entered, after which the fabric builds up to a definite cadence, leading to the working-out section.





At the re-entry the order of voices may be changed somewhat, but the character of the subject matter remains essentially unchanged. Near the end usually occurs a passage in which the subject, or a characteristic part of it, is stated in a much closed imitation called the *stretto*:



The *stretto* brings a climax, which leads to the end.

No attempt can be made here to enumerate the almost endless number of polyphonic devices which may enter into the structure of a fugue. It is sufficient to emphasize again its supreme importance as the embodiment of those musical possibilities which were eventually able to generate a great independent musical structure.

¹ Adolf Bernard Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, Vol. II, p. 242.

Summary

The importance of grasping the fact that in the hundred and fifty years before the death of Bach musical art produced the crystallization of nearly all of the forms mentioned in the foregoing chapter, cannot be overemphasized. Great forms have value and exert influence not only as the means of embodying important musical ideas, but also as concepts which themselves give the final measure of artistic perfection to those ideas. It might be said that great musical ideas cannot be successfully presented without the aid of equally great forms. No one has satisfactorily explained the origin of great ideas; the history of musical development indicates that the forms without which great ideas have little value can be only the result of a long accumulative process to which many men must contribute. The genius who appears, as Bach did, at a moment when great forms are ready for him, is as fortunate as he is rare.

Readings

A. J. Goodrich
Ernest Pauer
Herbert Westerby
Adolf Bernard Marx

Complete Musical Analysis
Primer of Musical Forms
The History of Pianoforte Music
Die Lehre von der musikalischen Kom-
position, Vol. II

NEW STYLES: 1740-1780

Forces of Musical Change

THE DATES of the period in which occurred one of the most important transformations of musical style and methods in the whole course of musical development must be selected arbitrarily. The similar stylistic change which came largely as a result of the experiments of the Camerata can be dated from the performance of Peri's *Euridice*, but no such single date can be selected to mark the beginning of the like period during the eighteenth century. The change was the result of forces long at work. But in the years between 1740 and 1780 they became evident, and finally began to dictate musical development.

The forces which were responsible for the change in musical style have already entered somewhat into our discussion. They may with profit be re-enumerated:

1. The evident deterioration of opera, as indicated by such straws in the wind as the appearance of Marcello's *Il teatro alla moda* in Italy, and Handel's bankruptcies in London.
2. The growing distaste for the learned polyphonic style, as indicated by the lack of appreciation for Bach. This distaste was expressed in a positive manner by an almost universal appetite for melody. Writer after writer of the period insisted that music must *sing*, must be *cantabile*.
3. The pressure exerted on the composers by the constantly increasing use of instruments which, because of their own peculiar genius, seemed to dictate a new style.
4. The gradual realization that the new conceptions and functions of melody and harmony were in themselves suffi-

cient foundations for musical form, thus allowing composers to dispense with the form-generating aspects of polyphony.

The Composers Involved in the Change

It is neither possible nor desirable to trace here in minute detail the gradual infiltration of new methods which finally crystallized in the works of Haydn and Mozart. The change can be sufficiently demonstrated in a discussion of three men whose mature works fell within the years beginning about 1740 and ending about 1780. Those men were Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788), and Johann Stamitz (1717-1757).

Gluck

Gluck's early musical education did not bring him into close contact with the polyphony of the church musicians, but on the contrary taught him the rough-and-ready musicianship of the countryside. After some preliminary schooling at Eisenberg, where his father was forester, he was sent to a Jesuit seminary in a neighboring town. During his attendance at this school, between 1726 and 1732, he learned to sing and to play the organ, the violin and the violoncello. In 1732 he was sent to Prague for further schooling. During the Prague period he reinforced his slender allowance by giving lessons and, in the summer, by playing polkas and waltzes in the villages near the city. In 1736 he went to Vienna where his ability attracted the attention of a patron who took him to Milan for a period of four years' study with the operatic composer and violinist Sammartini.

Gluck's Early Works

In 1741 Gluck produced his first opera, composed on the Italian model and using as libretto the *Artaserse* of Metastasio. *Artaserse* was successful, and Gluck followed it with seven more operas within five years. In 1746 Gluck was invited to London,

but the work he produced there suffered the same fate as had Handel's final operatic ventures earlier in the same decade. Gluck evidently met Handel and profited by his advice, but English affairs and taste were quite evidently not sufficiently favorable to warrant Gluck's remaining in London.

The story of Gluck's life was much the same as that of any other itinerant composer of Italian operas. He made the rounds of the capitals, and was received almost everywhere as a composer of genius. From 1748 he made Vienna his headquarters, but the demand for his services as a composer of both Italian *opera seria* and French comic opera necessitated frequent journeys.

Gluck's Idealism

Gluck's biographers, without being convincingly successful, attempt to document his ideas concerning the much needed reform of opera as existing, in his mind at least, as far back as the composition of his first opera for Milan. Be that as it may, Gluck's great importance rests on the reform which he effected in the opera, which dates from the performance of *Orfeo ed Euridice* in Vienna in 1762. The first step in his reform was to secure the services of a poet who was not bound by the traditional formulas of operatic poem manufacture, and who would be amenable to suggestions from the composer. The man he selected was Raniero di Calzabigi, and the result of their collaboration was a new type of operatic libretto.

Gluck's ideals were much more far-reaching, however, than merely to transform the libretto, and the result was an almost complete renovation of the conventional form. *Orfeo* was sufficiently successful to warrant a continuation of the reform, and as a preface to the next important opera in the new style, *Alceste* (1767), Gluck dictated one of the most important documents in the history of dramatic music:

When I undertook to set this poem it was my design to divest the music entirely of all those abuses with which the vanity of singers, or the too great complacency of composers, has so long disfigured the Italian opera and rendered the

most beautiful and magnificent of all public exhibitions the most tiresome and ridiculous. It was my intention to confine music to its true dramatic province, of assisting poetical expression and of augmenting the interest of the fable without interrupting the action or chilling it with useless and superfluous ornaments; for the office of music, when joined to poetry, seemed to me to resemble that of coloring in a correct and well-disposed design, where the lights and shades only seem to animate the figures without altering their outline.

I determined, therefore, not to stop an actor in the heat of a spirited dialogue, for a tedious *ritornello*; nor to impede the progress of passion by lengthening a single syllable of a favorite word purely to display agility of throat; and I was equally inflexible in my resolution not to employ the orchestra to so poor a purpose as that of giving time for the recovery of breath sufficient for a long and unmeaning cadenza.

I never thought it necessary to hurry through the second part of a song, though the most impassioned and important, in order to repeat the words of the first part regularly four times, merely to finish the air where the sense is unfinished and to give an opportunity to the singer of showing that he has the impertinent power of varying passages and disguising them till they shall be no longer known to the composer himself; in short, I tried to banish all those vices of the musical drama against which good sense and reason have in vain so long exclaimed.

I imagined that the overture ought to prepare the audience for the action of the piece, and serve as a kind of argument to it; that the instrumental accompaniment should be regulated by the interest of the drama and not leave a void in the dialogue between the air and the recitative; that they should neither break into the sense and connection of a period, nor wantonly interrupt the energy or heat of the action.

And lastly it was my opinion that my first and chief care, as a dramatic composer, was to aim at a noble simplicity; and I have accordingly shunned all parade of unnatural difficulty in favor of clearness; nor have I sought or studied novelty if it did not arise naturally from the situation of the character

and poetical expression; and there is no rule of composition which I have not thought it my duty to sacrifice in order to favor passion and produce effects.

Gluck, who had addressed his preface to Duke Leopold II, continued with characteristic praise for his royal patron, but aside from a passing reference to the libretto, he had, in the part quoted thus far, given expression to his revolutionary doctrines. He had, almost with one stroke, established a new importance for the musician in the theater. He had demonstrated the absurdities inherent in the theatrical artificialities which had arisen to satisfy poets and singers who had no conception of the dramatic power of directness and truth. But more important than that, he championed a musical style that was clear, simple, direct, and yet expressive. His important works were no longer a chain of arias and duets strung together with *recitativo secco*, forming what was essentially a costumed concert. They were dramas with music in which the orchestra added color and expressive background to the recitatives; the singers presented only what the composer had given them in arias conceived not necessarily in the conventional *da capo* form but in a structure dictated by the drama; the overture was no longer a perfunctory "curtain-raiser" cast in a conventional form, but an instrumental composition using the newer form (to be discussed later in this chapter) and intended to be an integral part of the opera; and finally in which the whole work was calculated to produce just the effect that Burney described when he wrote that to the audience *Alceste* was "so truly theatrical and interesting that they could not keep their eyes a moment off the stage . . . having their attention so irritated and their consternation so raised that they were kept in perpetual anxiety between hope and fear for the event, till the last scene of the drama. . . ." ¹ This report offers a distinct contrast to that of the contemporary theatergoer who found chess an invaluable pastime "for filling the void in these long recitatives." ²

¹ Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, Vol. I, p. 268.

² Ernest Newman, *Gluck and the Opera*, p. 53.

The Success of Gluck's Reform

Gluck may not have been entirely successful as a reformer of opera. His aim was certainly to increase the value of the drama at the expense of the music. From the present standpoint he accomplished something apparently much more paradoxical: he rejuvenated the musical drama by making music that to us is more intelligible, and consequently of more independent value, than that which he sought to replace. The explanation of the seeming paradox is that his contemporaries did not perceive the simplification he effected as a strengthening of the music; they saw only that in discarding the ponderous burden of floridities which had for long been part of their definition of music, he had managed to throw the dramatic significance of opera into bolder relief.

Gluck's Later Works

Alceste was followed in 1769 by a third opera in the new style, *Paride ed Elena*. Gluck had now conquered the taste of the Vienna audiences and his fame had preceded him to Paris, where he next sought opportunity to test his innovations. He had prepared himself for Paris by studying the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau and by composing, before he left Vienna, an opera to a French text—*Iphigénie en Aulide*. Part of the correspondence he had with the editor of the *Mercure de France* indicates the extent to which he believed his works would please the French, whose natural interest had always led them to place more emphasis on the dramatic aspect of the opera than had the Italians. In discussing the connection between the poetry and the music in his work in the new style, Gluck wrote:

These works are full of the happiest situations, of the most terrible and sublime traits, which serve the composer in the expression of deep passion, and in the writing of strong and seizing music; since, however great the talent of the composer may be, he will only write indifferent music if the poet

does not rouse in him that enthusiasm without which all the forms of art are dull and lifeless. The imitation of Nature is the aim both must set themselves, and it is this I have sought to attain. Simply and naturally my music always strives, as far as it is possible to me, after the highest power of expression and the strengthening of the declamation in the poetry. On that account I never employ trills, passages and cadenzas, with which the Italians are so liberal. . . . I avow that I would be glad to see it [*Iphigénie*] produced in Paris, because by its effect, and with the aid and the advice of the famous M. Rousseau of Geneva, we may perhaps together be able, by seeking a melody noble, sensible and natural, together with a declamation following exactly the prosody of each language and the character of each people, to find means to effect my purpose of producing a music appealing to them of all nations, and eliminating the ridiculous distinctions of national music.³

After great difficulties, particularly in teaching the singers and drilling the orchestra, chorus, and ballet, Gluck finally presented *Iphigénie en Aulide* at Paris in the spring of 1774. The Parisians had already divided into Gluckists and anti-Gluckists, and were anticipating a "war" similar to that precipitated by the performances of the Italian Buffoons twenty years earlier. The situation was complicated by the fact that Rousseau supported Gluck. Rousseau had, in the previous fray, defended Italian opera against the French. But Gluck was attempting by a reform of Italian opera to produce a style that would meet the approval of a French taste which had formerly opposed both Rousseau and the Italian music that he had defended.

Gluck and Piccinni

Iphigénie was a success, and a new version of *Orfeo ed Euridice*, now modified to permit a tenor to take the leading part in place of the artificial voice of Vienna, was even more successful when it was performed later in the year. Gluck's successes

³ Ernest Newman, *Gluck and the Opera*, pp. 119-120.

had two definite results: they secured him a commission to write more works for Paris, and they consolidated his opponents into an Italian party, who immediately did as Handel's enemies had done in London—imported a famous Italian composer, Piccinni, as their standard bearer.

The intense antagonism between the adherents of Gluck and those of Piccinni was not diminished by the successes of a Parisian version of *Alceste*, and three new works, *Armide* (1777), *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779), and *Echo et Narcisse* (1779). The climax, a victory for Gluck, which really had very little immediate importance either to the history of music or as a means of reaching a legitimate estimate of the respective merits of the two composers, came when both composers produced operas on the same text, *Iphigénie en Tauride*.

Gluck's Relation to Italian Opera

Gluck's reform, although it did not immediately effect a complete change in Italian opera, did stamp upon it the character of a new era and prepare the way for the work of later composers. His ideals put an end to the uncritical opera composing of the early eighteenth century, and turned what had been almost a musical "trade" into an art. He achieved, in six great works, the realization of what had formerly been only an inchoate desire on the part of men whose rebellion against the obvious absurdities of Italian opera was not accompanied by enough talent and energy to break through the old forms. That Gluck's influence was tremendous is clearly shown by the fact that the movement he initiated in the direction of using musical materials for their dramatic and expressive value has since his time not only made the older form of Italian opera obsolete, but also has, by the very momentum of the constant search for new and more poignant "effects," robbed his own music of much of the dramatic interest that it had for him and his contemporaries. They compared it to the music of his predecessors; we are forced to compare it to the music of his followers. Gluck marked not the climax but the final end of an old operatic convention. He marked the begin-

ning of a critical search for the means by which a number of arts, all now mature and independent in their own right, could be combined to create what he and his successors conceived would be a superart. More than anything else, he was representative of a period in which old styles were being discarded and new styles discovered.

The Mannheim School

Almost the same period in which Gluck effected a reform in the opera saw a most important change in the field of concerted instrumental music. Before 1740 the orchestra had developed in two distinct channels: as the accompanying element in the opera, its general function and capacity had been to a limited extent defined and exploited; as an independent musical medium it had been the subject of the attention which produced a literature climaxed by the orchestral concertos of Vivaldi, Handel, and Bach. During the period under discussion the functions of operatic and independent orchestra were combined with new elements to produce the immediate beginnings of both the modern orchestra and symphony. Chiefly responsible for this very important growth was the court orchestra at Mannheim and the composer-conductor Johann Stamitz.

Johann Stamitz: The Mannheim Orchestra

Although Johann Stamitz was the most important figure in the Mannheim group, it is neither just nor accurate to make him more than the center of an activity to which many other composers contributed. Among the many men who were either active at Mannheim or who came definitely under the Mannheim influence must be mentioned Ignaz Jakob Holzbauer (1711-1783), Franz Xaver Richter (1709-1789), and the friend and admirer of Mozart, Christian Cannabich (1731-1798).

Johann Stamitz was born in Bohemia and received most of his musical training from his father. His career did not take on importance until 1743, when he obtained a post in the court

orchestra at Mannheim. In 1745, when he became director, he began the régime which soon made his orchestra the most famous in Europe, exceeding that of the *concerts spirituels* in Paris. In 1759 the instrumentation had become very similar to what has ever since been the basic shape of the standard orchestra: ten first and ten second violins, four violas, four violoncellos and two contrabasses; two flutes, two oboes, two horns, two bassoons; trumpet, kettledrums, and organ. During the period until 1782 the reed section was strengthened by the addition of two more flutes, one oboe, two horns (considered then as belonging in the reed section), two bassoons, and, most important of all, three and sometimes four clarinets.⁴ This was the orchestra which made such an impression on Mozart when he visited Mannheim in 1763 and 1777.

Hitherto composers had composed for almost any available group of instruments; Stamitz established an orchestra that, because it was eminently satisfactory in its tonal balance and executive possibilities, seemed to demand a new literature. That new literature was immediately forthcoming, largely from the pen of Stamitz himself.

The Problem of Form

Stamitz, like Gluck, was imbued with the then modern spirit. If he knew the orchestral music of Handel and Bach, he had no desire to copy their style and methods. Unlike Gluck, after he had determined the elements of his new style, he had no dramatic plot to fall back on for his formal structure; consequently his problem was one not only of style, but of form. His solution of both problems, although it was in keeping with the spirit of his time, and because of that fact strikingly similar to the solution offered by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, was of immense importance and vitality. Only in the light of it can later developments be satisfactorily explained; one German authority says that Haydn and Mozart stood on the shoulders of Stamitz.⁵

⁴ G. Schünemann, *Geschichte des Dirigierens*, p. 182.

⁵ Hugo Riemann, *Musiklexikon*, article "Stamitz," 10th ed., p. 1232.

The Symphony: Dynamic Expression

With the music of the Mannheim School, the word "symphony" was first used in its present meaning, as describing a composition of large dimensions, in several movements, and, without any connection with musical drama, for orchestra. With the new symphony came a new style that was quite definitely monophonic; it was characterized by the introduction of rapid contrasts of mood and even of thematic material within the confines of a single movement. As aids to the contrast of mood, Stamitz was the first to use sudden changes by dynamics (echo effects had formerly been used, but rather harmlessly) and the *crescendo* and *diminuendo*. Burney, using the characteristic language of his time, said of Stamitz: "His genius was truly original, bold, and nervous; invention, fire, and contrast in the quick movements together with the ingenuity and richness of the accompaniments, characterize his productions—all replete with great effects produced by an enthusiasm of genius refined but not repressed by cultivation."⁶

The general outline of the form in the symphonies of Stamitz was regular: the first movement was an *allegro*, broad and vigorous in character; the second movement was a slow movement which showed clearly the influence of the operatic aria; the third movement was a lively *vivace* or *presto*. A few forecast the later symphony by including a minuet and trio between the slow and the final movements. The internal structure of the first movement was of the greatest significance in the development of musical form, because in it the germ of the classical sonata form made its first appearance in a symphony.

The Sonata Form

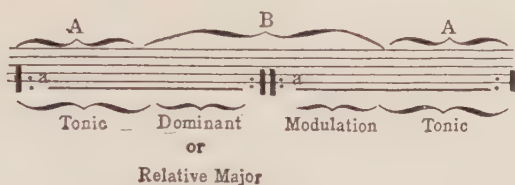
The fundamental internal form of the monophonic structure had already appeared as a key contrast in such earlier forms as the dance movements and the so-called sonatas of Domenico

⁶ Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany*, Vol. II, pp. 12-13.

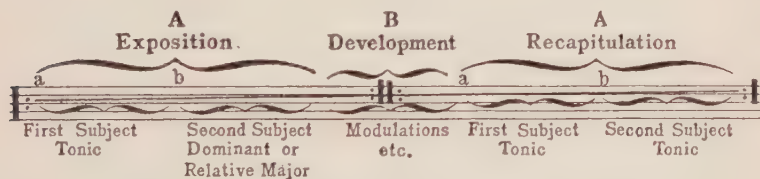
Scarlatti. As nearly as relationships can be traced in matters of formal development, the progress was probably as follows: From the simple two-part structure



grew the two part structure with a ternary tonal arrangement:



Stamitz and his contemporaries, building upon the form represented by the second diagram, hit upon the plan of contrasting not only key but subject matter, as the polyphonic concerto had done with its contrast of solo and tutti subjects. In so doing they created what, with only a few refinements waiting for later composers, was the sonata form:



A complete survey of the ancestry of this form would show that not one of the actual details was new except the general harmonic-monophonic style, and even that can be traced in the works of Domenico Scarlatti and François Couperin. The outline of the symphonic form as a whole, with its alternation of fast-slow-fast, showed a relationship through the intermediate sonata arrangements with the Italian overture. When the first movement was preceded by an adagio introduction, as was sometimes the case, the relationship to the French overture became apparent. The minuet and trio movement, already mentioned as sometimes

forming the penultimate movement of the symphony, was also derived from the French overture. The slow movement was distinctly an outgrowth of the highly florid operatic aria. The final quick movement showed its relationship to the rapid dances of the suite and *sonata da camera*. But the amalgamation of all these diverse elements into a unified structure was new, and was the great contribution of the middle decades of the eighteenth century.

This first movement form did not achieve perfection at the hands of the Mannheim composers. The thematic subjects themselves, particularly the second, were often weak, and the section devoted to modulation (later known as the development period) was too often lacking in distinctive character. But with all their faults, the symphonies of Stamitz were epoch-making. They were published in Paris and London and performed all over Europe with a success that demanded the attention of other composers. They pointed the way for the rapid development of a monophonic instrumental form that would eventually replace the fugue as a vehicle for the best efforts of composers. In so far as composers were no longer willing to compose in the older forms, the replacement had already been effected by the time Johann Stamitz died in 1757; it only remained for the new form to achieve a perfection that would make it the artistic equal of the fugue.

C. P. E. Bach

The story of the period of transition is not complete without a discussion of the rise of a new literature for the increasingly popular pianoforte. In that development C. P. E. Bach played a leading role. Although he had been taught largely by his father, he gave early indication that his interest was to be devoted almost entirely to the piano and to the style of music for that instrument, which was already being cultivated in France. C. P. E. Bach was known as the "Berlin," or "Hamburger" Bach, because his life was spent almost entirely in those two cities: from 1738 to 1767 he was a member of Frederick the Great's musical establishment in Berlin; from 1767 until his death in 1788 he was Telemann's successor in Hamburg.

The Klavier

C. P. E. Bach, as well as many of his contemporaries (including his brother Johann Christian Bach [1735-1782]), wrote much orchestral music which showed distinctly the influence of Stamitz and the Mannheim School, but our present interest must be confined to his importance as the leader in the twofold evolution which centered around the "Klavier."⁷ The two volumes of Bach's theoretical work, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Klavier zu spielen* (Essay on the True Way to Play the Piano), which were published first in Berlin in 1759 and 1762, respectively, were the textbooks for pianists for three-quarters of a century; and they still furnish an invaluable guide to the performance of eighteenth-century keyboard music. But the sets of sonatas that he wrote were much more important, for they not only became the formal and stylistic models for his successors, but also entered largely into the playing repertoire of a whole generation of pianist-composers whose names loom much larger than C. P. E. Bach's in the annals of instrumental music.

Pianistic Style

In his works for the pianoforte C. P. E. Bach displayed a free and pianistic style which definitely pointed out the field for future keyboard evolution. Harmonically conceived, and demonstrating hitherto unknown instrumental capacities, Bach's music was a revelation to his contemporaries. Example after example might be cited from Bach's more than ninety sonatas that would illustrate his grasp of the color possibilities of his instrument. Those color possibilities, with a harmonic-monophonic method of musical treatment, added to the steadying influence of the thorough polyphonic training which C. P. E. Bach had from

⁷ The German word Klavier applies to all keyboard instruments except the organ. C. P. E. Bach, in common with most of his contemporaries, did not distinguish, in his compositions, between the clavichord, the harpsichord, and the pianoforte. But he did play upon all three, and toward the end of his life owned a good pianoforte.

his father, were portents of a development which would make the pianoforte the great musical instrument in the nineteenth century.

The Sonata Form of C. P. E. Bach

The sonata form, which was the progressive form of the period under discussion, was treated with less clarity by C. P. E. Bach than by the Mannheim symphonists. The reason is not far to seek. The sonata form, as a musical structure, depends upon contrast of both tonality and subject matter. Contrast of subject matter, or thematic material, depends primarily upon the creation of material that has an epigrammatic quality. Without such epigrammatic quality subject matter fails to retain its individuality in a tonal fabric, and the possibility of contrast is lost. Because C. P. E. Bach's interest was so largely devoted to the development of a pianistic style he often substituted a contrast of pianistic treatment for contrast of subject matter, and his development was, similarly, often a pianistic rather than a thematic development. In spite of this tendency, however, Bach's sonatas furnished, when taken in conjunction with the formal developments of the Mannheim group, the general outline for the work of Haydn and Mozart.

Summary

A period in which musical activity was so diverse as it was between 1740 and 1780 gains unity only as it shows a tendency on the part of musicians to move toward some general objective. That objective, which was partially understood by contemporary observers as being a search for lucid and delightful melody, becomes clear only in the light thrown by historical perspective. It was twofold: the growth of the new harmonic-monophonic style; and the evolution of the new sonata form as a vehicle for that style. The stylistic reform of the opera, the development of the modern orchestra, and the acceptance of the pianoforte as the modern keyboard instrument—all were motivated by a

growing tendency on the part of musicians to develop a critical faculty along with technical facility. That critical faculty was, certainly, a characteristic of the century of Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists—the same century which produced the French Revolution—and it is not strange that the cult of criticism denounced the absurdities of Italian opera and the learned heaviness of German polyphony with the same breath. Nor is it strange that the successors of the old styles and forms should be clear, light, and permeated by a new formal logic.

Reason was not a strange god to the late eighteenth century. We have seen musical art respond to many and various ideals; we now turn to a period in which, for a time, not only expression but formal clarity, not only feeling but also reason, played an important part in musical development.

Readings

Charles Burney	<i>The Present State of Music in Germany,</i> Vol. I
R. A. Streatfeild	<i>The Opera</i>
Ernest Newman	<i>Gluck and the Opera</i>
E. Daymond	<i>C. P. E. Bach</i>
Leo Smith	<i>Music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth</i> <i>Centuries</i>
Arthur Elson	<i>A Critical History of Opera</i>
E. Markham Lee	<i>The Story of the Symphony</i>
Thomas Whitney Surette	<i>The Development of Symphonic Music</i>
Louis Adolph Coerne	<i>The Evolution of Modern Orchestration</i>
Adam Carse	<i>The History of Orchestration</i>
Herbert Westerby	<i>The History of Pianoforte Music</i>
Oscar Bie	<i>A History of the Pianoforte</i>
Romain Rolland	<i>Some Musicians of Former Days</i>
G. Schünemann	<i>Geschichte des Dirigierens</i>
Hermann Kretzschmar	<i>Geschichte der Oper</i>
Gustave Desnoiresterres	<i>Gluck et Piccinni</i>

HAYDN AND MOZART

Haydn and Mozart as Contemporaries

F RANZ JOSEPH HAYDN (1732-1809) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791) were the two great figures of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were not men of the same generation, but they were contemporaries in the sense that they influenced one another, and there is a kind of likeness about them which makes them belong together as the outstanding representatives of their own particular period.

The Classic Period

That period, known variously as the "Age of Haydn and Mozart," the "Viennese Period," or the "Classical Period," is susceptible to two interpretations, depending upon whether the emphasis is placed on its relation to the preceding or to the succeeding period. If the relation to the preceding period is to be stressed, the age of Haydn and Mozart should properly be called the "Classical Period" because it marks the culmination of the principles of monophonic style and pure independent musical form, the growth of which had marked the period of Gluck, Stamitz, and C. P. E. Bach. If, on the other hand, its relation to the succeeding period is to be emphasized, it must be looked upon as a transitional period leading to, or forming the beginning of, the "Viennese Period" of Beethoven. In the first case the formal and stylistic perfection of Mozart, and to a less extent of Haydn, is considered as a culmination, as an end in itself; in the second case that perfection is considered as a necessary but

secondary step in an evolutionary chain leading to the achievement of a new expressive medium.

Classicism and Romanticism

The selection of one of these viewpoints to the conscious or unconscious exclusion of the other, is fatal to a complete understanding of the forces which have determined the whole course of musical change. Two concepts of art have existed side by side, with the greater emphasis now on one and now on the other. One asks of art the creation of perfection in the arrangement of its materials; the other asks that those materials be used to an expressive purpose. The very condition and quality of the materials out of which music is made makes it capable of doing both—makes it hardly possible not to do both; but in the one case the consideration of formal perfection transcends the expressive connotation of the materials, while in the other the consideration of the expressive quality of the materials is far more important than the form in which those materials are cast. The argument will never cease; the question will never be permanently settled. The "Classicist" will always, in some guise or other, be interested in formal perfection, and the "Romanticist" will always be tempted to make form subservient to expressive truth.

"Classicism" and "Romanticism" enter here as an introduction to a period which can be best understood in the light of the meanings which those terms embody. They were not, however, contemporary concepts; Haydn and Mozart naïvely composed the best music they could without bothering themselves about abstract musical aesthetics. They lived in a time in which powdered wigs and court plaster were "a matter of form," and in which their noble patrons would have resented being troubled by displays of emotion. By the very force of their environments their interests were "classical," and even their tentative explorations into the realm of expression were cast in the forms for which they had such great admiration.

Haydn

Franz Joseph Haydn, the son of an Austrian wheelwright, was born in 1732 at Rohrau, a small town on the boundary between Lower Austria and Hungary. As a boy his musical training was entrusted to a relative, Johann Mattias Frankh, who was musical director in the church of Hainburg, a near-by town. After two years as choir boy and pupil at Hainburg his voice attracted the attention of the musical director of St. Stephens church at Vienna, Georg Reutter, who was visiting in Hainburg. Thus in 1740 young Haydn was taken to Vienna as choir boy and pupil at the cantor's school. Haydn's musical instruction at Vienna consisted of lessons in singing and playing the violin and harpsichord. Lessons in harmony and composition seem to have been scanty, but the stories concerning Haydn's youth indicate that he made a good deal of progress by himself in his understanding of the technical aspects of musical construction. In 1745 Haydn's voice began to break, and he was soon dismissed from his position. Left to his own resources in the city of Vienna, he gradually made influential friends and convinced them of his talent. He continued his studies, mastering such works as Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and founding his own style on the sonatas of C. P. E. Bach. He met and admired Gluck and Dittersdorf, and was for a time pupil of and valet to Porpora. In 1752 he composed the music to a comic opera, *Der neue krumme Teufel*, which had a long popularity, and in 1758, after having been student, teacher, performer, and composer in Vienna, and after having made himself familiar with the main tendencies in Italian and German musical art, was appointed musical director to the Bohemian Count Morzin. In 1755 Haydn had already begun the long series of string quartets, the composition of which occupied him at intervals throughout his life; now in the service of Count Morzin he began the even more important series of symphonies.

Haydn's Connection with the Esterházy Family

Following the disbanding of Count Morzin's musical establishment Haydn secured a post in 1761 with the Esterházy family, thus forming a relationship which was to continue until the end of his life. First as assistant, and then as first chapelmaster, Haydn was given every incentive necessary to the realization of his genius. Prince Esterházy was a capable amateur, and in such genial surroundings Haydn gradually developed a remarkable orchestra and a group of singers adequate for the performance of dramatic and religious music.

The Esterházy family, at Eisenstadt and later at Esterházy, maintained one of the most splendid courts in Europe. Music furnished there, as it did all over Germany, a large part of the entertainment. Almost daily concerts of chamber and orchestral music, interspersed with marionette operas and true operas, to say nothing of the regular use of music at religious services, kept the time of the prince's musicians completely filled. Life for men like Haydn was a constant round of concerts, performances and rehearsals, for which most of the music must be composed in otherwise unoccupied moments. The routine was broken by the occasional appearance of troupes of traveling musicians and by the removal of the prince, sometimes accompanied by the whole musical corps, to the capital for the winter season. Fortunately for Haydn, the trips to Vienna furnished opportunity both for the dissemination of his own works and for him constantly to renew his acquaintance with the musical life of the city which had become the musical center of the whole of Europe.

The Music of the Esterházy Period

A list of the music composed by Haydn during the twenty-nine years of his active connection with the Esterházy family would be far too long to be included here. His compositions ranged over every musical form characteristic of the time: symphonies, operas, Masses, string quartets, piano sonatas, concertos

for various instruments with orchestra, and music for numerous other combinations of instruments and voices. The addition of a famous harpist to the musical forces brought forth a series of compositions for harp; having a famous 'cellist as a member of the orchestra necessitated concertos for 'cello and orchestra, which Haydn straightway produced; a ball attended by the emperor brought out the whole orchestra with proudly performed new ballroom music. Haydn stood ready to compose, genially and to the best of his lavish ability, music for any occasion.

At the death of Prince Esterházy in 1790, the musical establishment was disbanded, but Haydn retained his title of "Kapellmeister," and although he was now free to devote himself to other affairs, he retained an income from his patrons. The story of the rest of his life recounts constantly increasing fame and honor. His works were performed throughout Europe; Naples, Berlin, Madrid, and London were all anxious to hear his latest composition. Pupils flocked to him, and contemporary composers were almost unanimous in acknowledging his greatness.

London: Symphonies and Oratorios

Haydn's later life was rich in incident, but that aspect must be left to the biographer. The two journeys to London, in 1790-1792 and 1794-1795, during which he composed the twelve great "London" symphonies, and conceived the desire to compose oratorios, are most important from the historical standpoint. On his second return to Vienna he devoted himself largely to the two oratorios, the *Creation*, first performed in 1798, and the *Seasons*, first performed in 1801. In 1803 he made his last public appearance as a conductor, and from then until his death in 1809, in a Vienna conquered by the armies of Napoleon, his life was that of an honored old man gradually succumbing to his infirmities.

Relationship Between Haydn and Mozart

The relationship between Haydn and Mozart is unparalleled in the history of music. As a youth Mozart undoubtedly used

Haydn as a model; as an old man Haydn, who outlived Mozart nearly twenty years, was in turn greatly influenced by Mozart. Because of this fact it is necessary, before attempting to discuss the historical importance of either composer, to recount biographically the musical heritage of both.

Mozart

Mozart's father, Leopold Mozart, was a composer of some renown, and the author of the only violin method which had universal use during the last half of the eighteenth century. Thoroughly trained himself, he was well prepared to be his son's chief teacher. Leopold Mozart was court composer to the Archbishop of Salzburg, where Mozart was born in 1756. The elder Mozart soon discovered that his son had extraordinary musical gifts, which he immediately began to cultivate. He taught his son to play the harpsichord and pianoforte, the violin, and the organ; as part of his daily practice young Mozart began to compose his own pieces.

By 1762 Mozart had progressed so rapidly that his father undertook a tour, planned to display Mozart and his older sister, Maria Anna (b. 1751), as prodigies. Such tours continued until 1775, during which time the Mozarts visited all of the important cities in Europe. No better conception of Mozart's contacts with the music of his own time can be gained than through some description of the musicians he met and the music he heard during his formative years.

Wealth of Contacts

In London he met Johann Christian Bach, and was given singing lessons by the Italian singer Manzuoli. He was there while the influence of Handel was still strong. In Paris he met pupils of Rameau, and knew Baron Grimm, one of the chief actors in the *Guerre des Bouffons*. Judging from the character of one of his youthful works, the operetta *Bastien and Bastienne*, he must have made some acquaintance with Rousseau's methods

and theories. At Mannheim he was impressed by the remarkable orchestral standards. At Milan he met Sammartini, the teacher of Gluck, who tested his genius with interest. At Bologna he made the acquaintance of the singer Farinelli and the great Italian polyphonist, Padre Martini. At Florence he played accompaniments for the violinist Nardini. At Rome, during holy week, he performed the remarkable feat of writing down from memory after only one hearing the whole of the celebrated *Miserere* of Allegri. In Naples he met Piccinni and Jommelli, the leading Neapolitan operatic composers. Before leaving Italy he had an opera, *Mitridate re di Ponto*, performed in Milan, and was commissioned to compose two more for the following year. In Vienna he knew Gluck, Haydn, Clementi the pianist, and Hasse. In Salzburg Michael Haydn, Joseph Haydn's younger brother, and one of the leading composers of church music of the period, was a family friend. During and between the travels, Mozart's father taught him thoroughly the standard composer's textbook of the period, Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and Mozart himself mastered many of the keyboard works of C. P. E. Bach. Mozart made the final trip with his mother.

Mozart, who was now twenty-one, lingered at Mannheim partly because he had fallen in love, and partly because the musical companionship of Cannabich and Holzbauer was attractive. Mozart and his mother reached Paris in the midst of the Gluck-Piccinni controversy, and consequently he had difficulty in gaining recognition, but he did have some pupils, and he met François J. Gossec (1734-1829), one of the important French followers of Johann Stamitz. The stay in Paris was saddened by the death of his mother; when he returned to Salzburg alone, his triumphant journeys were over. But they had furnished him with perhaps the most unusual and valuable training that a young composer ever had. His acquaintance with music and musicians, with styles and masters of those styles, was unique. His genius was recognized and had been developed but not spoiled. It was no wonder that he hoped to find an appointment that would allow him to take his well-deserved place in the musical world. The rest of his life was devoted to the search for that position.

Although Mozart had an international reputation as a wonder

child, musicians had seen enough prodigies to be wary of accepting a mature musician on the merits of his youthful accomplishments. His reputation was actually a handicap. His trouble with a new Archbishop of Salzburg, his subsequent removal to Vienna, his marriage, and the musical politics of the Viennese court, all seemed to conspire against him. He eked out a precarious living by teaching, playing, and composing. But the final years in Vienna, from 1781 to 1791, in spite of material handicaps, developed and matured the Mozart whose works are immortal.

Mozart's Mature Works

Very little attempt can be made here to describe works which so well describe themselves. Mozart's compositions cover as wide a range as Haydn's. The many string quartets were climaxed by those of the Viennese period, especially the six dedicated to Haydn and the last three written for the King of Prussia. Chamber works in other forms, such as the string quintets (two violins, two violas, and violoncello), and the clarinet quintet (clarinet, two violins, viola, violoncello) gave a new permanency to that type of occasional music. The last three symphonies, in E \flat , G minor, and C major (the "Jupiter"), gave even Haydn a new ideal for symphonic writing. The piano concertos with orchestra revealed the true possibilities of that form, for Mozart was not only the great composer, but the greatest pianist of the period. But Mozart looked upon himself as an operatic composer, and to both the old Italian opera and the newly revived German *Singspiel* he brought a genius that surmounted all the absurdities which were so glaring in the works of lesser men. The list of the operas of Mozart's last ten years is the list of the eighteenth-century operas which have outlived the literally thousands composed: *Idomeneo*, an Italian *opera seria*, 1781; *Entführung aus dem Serail*, a German *Singspiel*; *Der Schauspieldirektor*, a comedy; *Le nozze di Figaro*; *Don Giovanni*, written for Prague; *Così fan tutte*, an *opera buffa*; *La clemenza di Tito*, an *opera seria* to a libretto by Metastasio; and finally *Die Zauberflöte*, a German opera.

Mozart died in 1791, before completing the mysteriously or-

dered *Requiem* which was his last work. His body was buried in a common pauper's grave; because of inclement weather his few friends left the funeral at the city gates and no one could later remember the location of the grave. Such contemporary lack of interest is not particularly significant. Mozart's music provides him with an immortality in comparison with which the intrigues of eighteenth-century Vienna are altogether unimportant.

The Contributions of Haydn and Mozart

No necessity exists for a comparison of the merits of the styles of Haydn and Mozart. Musical literature and the influence of their period on later composers would be incomplete without the contributions of both. Both were men of their age and environment, superficially representative of the careless gaiety which immediately preceded the explosion of the French Revolution, but none the less real men whose true personalities could be only partially smothered by the artificial manners of their contemporaries.

Zopf Music

The forgotten music of the last three quarters of the eighteenth century has sometimes been given the rather derogatory title of "Zopf" music ("pigtail" music). It is true that the reaction against polyphony led in some cases to a style which was so simple that it seems artificial. Rhythms were simple, melodies of any epigrammatic value were virtually nonexistent, and harmonies were limited to an almost endless repetition of the primary chords, with harmony-book cadences. The clue to the whole movement may be sought in the obvious social artificiality and rather depraved taste of the period, but from the standpoint of the historian the "Zopf" style performed a necessary part in musical evolution. The most fundamental aspect of the style was the intense interest in the newly codified relations of chords within the tonal scheme. Simple harmonic formulas were treated as a child treats a new toy, almost to the exclusion of everything else. Through the whole

process the monophonic instrumental style and forms began to emerge.

Haydn's Style

It has already been pointed out that in connection with instrumental music C. P. E. Bach and Johann Stamitz laid the foundations for the new style and the accompanying forms. Their works had many of the faults of the "Zopf" music. That was inevitable. In the works of Haydn the "Zopf" element began to disappear. He accepted the forms and harmonic formulas, but he began immediately to enrich and therefore increase the importance of his rhythms and melodies. No search further than Haydn's own genius need be made for the explanation of his so doing. He had the gift for creating decisive and clear-cut subject matter, and the remarkable inspiration to allow himself to be influenced by the Croatian folk melodies and rhythms that he had known from boyhood. With his own geniality furnishing the audacity, his command over a wide range of new and epigrammatic subject matter made possible a musical style that could be tender, sprightly, or even boisterously humorous at will. There is always an element not of restraint but of objectivity in the mood which Haydn's music produces—he had little desire to make music a vehicle for self-expression—but he did achieve a style with distinct character. Such an achievement was by no means new in the history of musical art; to Haydn, however, is due the credit for demonstrating that in the hands of a genius the new instrumental monophony need not always be "Zopf" music.

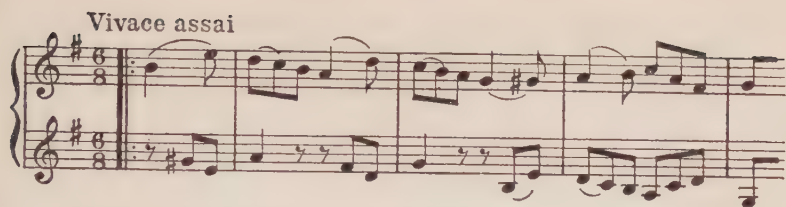
A sharp line of demarcation cannot be drawn between fundamental musical materials and form. In Haydn's case his ability to invent and use sharply defined subject matter was of immense importance to his command over musical form and consequently to the whole development of the monophonic instrumental forms.

Haydn's Use of the Sonata Form

Haydn's early command of satisfactory form was no more sure nor fluent than that of his predecessors. The first string quartets

and symphonies display a grasp of the sonata form only in the primitive Mannheim or C. P. E. Bach stage. But as his melodies and rhythms took on epigrammatic quality, the effect on the sonata form and on such other forms as the minuet and the rondo was that of a remarkable increase in the clarity of outline. The tonal design of the form was a part of Haydn's inheritance; he added to the tonal scheme a clear thematic design. The sonata form became a structure in which contrasts of melodies and rhythms went hand in hand with key contrast. The first theme and the second theme achieved a distinctive character which made them the subjects of clearly contrasted episodes in the exposition. The phrases which led to the final cadence of the exposition began to display sufficient individuality to become a distinct closing episode. The development section, which had previously been little else but a short section in which the tonal center was changed with more or less fluidity, was now extended and used as an opportunity to work out and vary the subject matter presented in the exposition. In the recapitulation the closing episode was extended, generally by the use of other subject matter from the exposition, into a coda.

The forms which Haydn was extending and clarifying for his own use have come to be looked upon by many musicians as formulas to be learned and then discarded. Haydn did not so regard them. The whole feeling of his time required the utmost clarity within an understandable structure, but that this feeling caused any great composer to write music as a workman pours plaster into a mold is a misconception. It is doubtful, for instance, if Haydn ever used the name "sonata form" for a movement using the extended musical plan which is now so described. A close scrutiny of any of his music will show that each piece, although it follows a general scheme which many movements have in common, develops its own specific structure. In the *Surprise Symphony*, for instance, the music begins with a slow introduction not only because there was a tradition which allowed or demanded such a beginning, but because he wanted his symphony to begin with the tonic. This would not have been the case if he had started with the first theme:



This harmonic scheme of emphasizing the tonic by moving to it through a procession of dominants is one of Haydn's favorite devices, and so characteristic of this particular theme that its use justified the introduction. The harmony of the theme becomes crystal-clear much later in the movement—at measure 219—when the composer finally lets its bass sound:

The twentieth-century student can approach the music of Haydn only with ears conditioned by works written long after that composer's death. A detailed study of Haydn's music will show why his contemporaries looked upon him as a great innovator. Charles Burney, writing late in the eighteenth century, but before Haydn had visited London, said of him:

I am now happily arrived at that part of my narrative where it is necessary to speak of HAYDN! the admirable and matchless HAYDN! from whose productions I have received more pleasure late in my life, when tired of most other music, than I ever received in the most ignorant and rapturous part of my youth, when every thing was new, and the disposition to be pleased undiminished by criticism and satiety.

. . . Indeed, his compositions are in general so new to the

player and hearer, they are equally unable, at first, to keep pace with his inspiration. . . . The first exclamation of an embarrassed performer and a bewildered hearer is, that the Music is very *odd*, or very *comical*; but the queerness and comicality cease, when, by frequent repetition, the performer and hearer are at their ease. There is a general cheerfulness and good humour in Haydn's allegros, which exhilarate every hearer. But his adagios are often so sublime in ideas and the harmony in which they are clad, that though played by inarticulate instruments, they have a more pathetic effect on my feelings, than the finest opera air united with the most exquisite poetry.¹

Mozart's Style

Mozart demonstrated from his very earliest compositions that he possessed an extraordinary feeling for musical form, due perhaps to the fact that he was able to appraise musical contour and balance because of an astounding musical memory. His style is a synthesis of all of the diverse elements which were brought together by his wide experience, but as it crystallized in the great works of his maturity, every hint of synthetic quality was burned out by the fire of his genius. The result was a perfection in the use of musical materials which defies comparison. Melodies, rhythms, harmonies—all are the result of an inventive process that can be explained not in terms of external influence but only in terms of genius.

Certain external elements of Mozart's mature style were, however, of great importance because of the influence they exerted on later composers. Mozart so easily mastered the comparatively simple monophonic methods current in his youth that he naturally turned to the more complex polyphonic art for further growth. It was characteristic that he should remark, on looking over some of J. S. Bach's manuscripts in Leipzig, that at last here was music from which he could learn something. Such a leaning toward polyphony is shown by the absolute clarity of

¹ Charles Burney, *A General History of Music*, Vol. IV, pp. 599, 601-602.

his part writing, even when the musical invention is predominantly monophonic. Mozart's string quartets, to cite only one segment of his music, stand as a monument in that literature largely because of the transparency achieved by a semipolyphonic treatment of the texture. A few measures near the beginning of the quartet in G major, the first of the six dedicated to Haydn, will suffice to illustrate a method which might be demonstrated by thousands of examples.

The image displays a musical score for a string quartet in G major, consisting of four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The music is written in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the initial measures, with a bracket indicating a phrase of three measures. The second system continues the melody, with a bracket labeled 'a' indicating a phrase. The third system shows a more complex texture with multiple melodic lines, including a phrase labeled 'b' and a phrase labeled 'dr b'. The score concludes with the word 'etc.' on the right side of each staff.

etc.
and after
three
measures

Characteristic, too, of the gradual return of methods against which the "Zopf" music had been a reaction, was Mozart's use of the fugue. He succeeded in producing what must remain a stylistic marvel when he was able to reconcile the fugal structure and method to his own individual style. Such movements as the final one of the G major quartet mentioned above and the last of the "Jupiter" symphony are formal fugues without in any way conflicting in style with the rest of the works to which they belong.

Mozart's Chromaticism

Mozart is important as being the composer in whose works definitely appear the chromatic elements which were eventually to contribute first to an enlargement and finally to a breakdown of the tonal system. Nothing better illustrates the fact that the materials out of which music is made are in a constant state of flux than Mozart's position as the composer whose style grew directly out of the then only recently understood tonal system, but was at the same time characterized by an element which contained the seed of the destruction of that same system. Chromatic melodies and harmonies gave a richness that was new and could be achieved in no other manner. Certainly Mozart's ventures were all well within the boundaries of the tonal system. When harmonic richness and color became not only an end to which Mozart's followers consciously strove, but a means to a newly conceived musical expression, and when composers became convinced that they must outdo their predecessors in the invention of new harmonic color combinations, then what must be called *classic tonality* was doomed to follow the older modes into obsolescence and disuse.

Mozart's chromaticisms are seldom startling; he does, however, often use them to give a tender and lyric quality to the second subjects of his works in the sonata form. The second subjects of the first movements of his last two symphonies are cases in point.

SYMPHONY IN G MINOR²

First Movement—Second Subject

Oboes

Bassoons

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello and Bass

This system of the musical score includes staves for Oboes, Bassoons, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello and Bass. The key signature is G minor (two flats) and the time signature is common time (C). The Oboes and Bassoons play a melodic line starting with a half note G, followed by a quarter note A, and then a beamed eighth-note triplet (B, C, D). The Violin I and Violin II parts play a descending half-note scale: G, F, E, D, C, B, A, G. The Viola and Violoncello and Bass parts play a descending half-note scale: G, F, E, D, C, B, A, G.

This system continues the musical score. The Oboes and Bassoons continue their melodic line. The Violin I and Violin II parts continue their descending half-note scale. The Viola and Violoncello and Bass parts continue their descending half-note scale.

Final Movement—Return of Second Theme in Recapitulation

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Flute

Oboes

Bassoons

Horns in G

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

p

mf p

p

mf p

p

f

f

SYMPHONY IN C MAJOR³

The image displays a musical score for a symphony in C major. The top section features four staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Violoncello and Bass. Violin I has a melodic line with a trill on the first staff. Violin II plays a continuous eighth-note pattern. Viola and Violoncello and Bass have more static parts. Below this, a piano accompaniment is shown with four staves. The piano part includes a trill on the first staff and a continuous eighth-note pattern on the second staff. The score is written in C major and common time.

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello and Bass

etc.

The string quartet in C major, however, shows a Mozart far ahead of his time in the use not only of chromaticism but of dissonance as well. The passage is well worth quoting. It takes its place beside Monteverde's "Cruda Amarilla" as a signpost to the future.

³ *Jupiter*. K. V. 551.

Adagio

eto.

Mozart here made a step into a future which even he could not foresee.

The dedication of the six string quartets, of which the one

in C major is the last, expresses, perhaps courteously overemphasized, the relationship between Mozart and Haydn:

To my dear friend Haydn! A father who has concluded to send his children into the world at large, thought best to entrust them to the guidance and protection of a highly honored man who fortunately is also his best friend. Behold here, famous man and treasured friend, my six children. They are, believe me, the fruit of long and arduous labor, yet some friends have encouraged me to assume that I shall see this travail a little rewarded, and this flatters me into believing that these children shall one day offer me some comfort. You yourself, dear friend, have shown me your approval of them during your last stay in this city. Your praise, above all, encourages me to recommend them to you and leads me to hope that they shall not be entirely unworthy of your good will. . . . Meanwhile I am, from all my heart, your friend

W. A. MOZART

Vienna, September 1, 1785

From the time Mozart came to Vienna in 1781 until Haydn left for London in 1790, the two men were in almost constant contact. They learned from each other. Haydn's long experience with musical form and the lessons he had learned in the treatment of string quartet and orchestra were of immense value to Mozart. The effect of Mozart's genius, of his intuition, revealed to the older Haydn many things that experience could never teach. Mozart's string quartets and symphonies of that ten-year period show unmistakably the influence of Haydn; the great series of "London" symphonies, and the later string quartets, show on the other hand a new Haydn, owing to the influence of Mozart.

Dramatic Music

In the field of dramatic music Haydn, although he composed operas, must be represented by the two great oratorios, and

Mozart by the operas which have already been listed. Here the work of both men takes on historical significance, not so much because it represents any particular trend, but because it is the product of genius. It is, of course, true that Mozart was influenced by Gluck, and that his interest in the German *Singspiel* was largely instrumental in the revival of that form, but Mozart's operas are immortal because of his fine feeling for musical characterization, his ability to catch, in music, the personal and dramatic qualities of his characters, and the compulsion of his musicianship. He achieved in practice what is theoretically almost impossible—a reconciliation, on a basis of complete independence, of music and drama. The influence of Haydn's oratorios was strongest in England, and, not much later in the nineteenth century, in New England. They represent a continuation of the Handelian tradition, modified by the new style and characterized by Haydn's own pious simplicity and naïveté.

The Orchestra

The orchestra was greatly enlarged during the lifetime of Haydn, which included, of course, Mozart's shorter life span. The early symphonies are thin, from the standpoint both of instruments employed and true parts written. The Mannheim orchestra continued to set the standard until about 1780, when it became possible to gather a large group in Vienna. Haydn's experience with the string quartet led him to write four true parts for the strings; no longer did second violin double first, and viola likewise double 'cello and bass. Reed instruments, continually being improved as to flexibility and trueness of pitch, began to take their place as sources of color variety. Brass instruments, except the horns, which were considered as a part of the reed section, were still the inflexible "open-tone" instruments, and their use was from necessity confined largely to dynamic reinforcement. The clarinets finally took their place in the orchestra, but they were for long conceived simply as a kind of trumpet, and their character as an invaluable reed instrument was not clearly demonstrated until later. Mozart was the first important composer to use them intelligently. The orchestra made available to

Haydn in London was by far the best and most complete body of performers that he had known; in consequence the scores of the "London" symphonies represent a technical advance over any previous orchestra. That the orchestra of the Handel and Bach concertos and choral accompaniments had become obsolete was evident in the fact that Mozart felt it necessary to completely rescore the *Messiah*. Most of the modern patterns for instrumental music rest on the foundations laid by Haydn and Mozart. Their piano sonatas form the bridge from Scarlatti, Couperin, and C. P. E. Bach to the great piano music of Beethoven and the nineteenth century. Their piano works, particularly the Fantasies of Mozart, exhibit a pianistic quality, a freedom from minute formal restrictions, and at times an imaginative exuberance which forecast in a striking manner the direction which the development of piano literature was to take. Their sonatas for violin and piano, in which both parts were consistently written out, making them distinct from the older "figured bass" sonatas, carried that form over into the new idiom and thus into modern literature. The old trio sonata became in their hands the new piano trio (piano, violin and violoncello), in which the piano was to play an ever-increasing part. Their string quartets (and string trios and quintets on a lesser scale) have not only furnished later composers with models for the most delightfully intimate chamber music, but have taken their place as part of the best music that survives from the eighteenth century. Their symphonies are fundamental to orchestral literature. Their instrumental concertos with orchestral accompaniment completely transformed the older concerto form, and, particularly in the case of Mozart's piano concertos, crystallized the three-movement form of the present concerto. Musical literature owes them a large debt.

A Cycle in Music History

The one hundred and fifty years between 1600 and 1750 may be said to cover a complete cycle in musical history. A monophonic reform brought about a revolutionary simplification to which new elements were constantly added until the climax beyond which no progress could be made came in the works of

Bach. Before Bach's death a new cycle, characterized again by a monophonic reform leading to a new simplicity, had begun. We are now following the development of the new cycle. Haydn and Mozart take their places in it as the pre-eminent composers of the period in which the forms for the new style were being developed and understood. The sonata form rooted back into the former cycle, just as the fugue had ancestors in the period before 1600, but its real growth came only after its fitness for the new style had been demonstrated. Haydn and Mozart were preoccupied with the perfection of that form; in that preoccupation they represent what has come to be called the "Classical Period." During the classical period music was written, particularly by Mozart, which displays an absolute perfection of structure which is ideal. But the period was only a segment in the inexorable curve of a larger cycle. Haydn, in his later years, was accused of attempting to create a new style; Mozart, in works like the C major quartet, was completely misunderstood. They were entering into a movement toward the next distinct phase of musical development, a movement which is best represented by their great successor, Ludwig van Beethoven.

Readings

Otto Jahn

Edward Holmes

Marcia Davenport

E. J. Breakspeare

E. J. Dent

J. C. Hadden

C. F. Pohl

W. H. Hadow

Louis Adolph Coerne

Adam Carse

Herbert Westerby

John C. Fillmore

E. Markham Lee

Annie W. Patterson

R. A. Streatfeild

Hermann Kretzschmar

Arnold Schering

Life of Mozart

Life of Mozart

Mozart

Mozart

Mozart's Operas

Haydn

Joseph Haydn

A Croatian Composer

The Evolution of Modern Orchestration

The History of Orchestration

The History of Pianoforte Music

Pianoforte Music

The Story of the Symphony

The Story of the Oratorio

The Opera

Geschichte der Oper

Geschichte des Oratoriums

BEETHOVEN

Early Life

LUDWIG VAN BEETHOVEN (1770-1827) was the son of a tenor singer in the chapel of the Elector at Bonn, and the grandson of a Dutch musician who had come to Bonn as chapel-master. Because the young Beethoven displayed evidence of musical precocity, his father conceived the idea of making him a second Mozart, largely because of the money that would accrue from the exploitation of a child genius. With that end in view, Beethoven's musical education was begun in the haphazard way that characterized most of the activities of his father. No money for regular instruction was available, and the teaching was that of members of the electoral chapel, including Beethoven's father, who happened to make the Beethoven home a meeting place.

At the age of six Beethoven gave his first concert, playing the piano in Cologne. It is probable that in 1781 he was taken on a concert tour through Holland. He learned to play the piano, the organ, and the violin; the names of the Franciscan Willibald, and the court organists Van den Eeden and Neefe, from whom he also had lessons in composition, appear among the list of his early teachers. In 1782 Neefe published the famous notice telling of Beethoven's ability to play most of the fugues of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavichord*. Between 1782 and 1787, Beethoven was accepted as a valuable, though poorly paid, member of the Bonn chapel; as court organist, violist in the concert orchestra, and composer, he attracted the attention of the small court ruled by the brother of the emperor, made many friends among the nobility, and convinced them that his talents were too great for the limited training and experience offered by a provincial city.

The first trip to Vienna was made in 1787. Beethoven was already a remarkably proficient pianist; the incident of his meeting with Mozart demonstrates that his ability as an improviser could call forth the approval of so great a master of that art. Because of the illness and subsequent death of his mother, Beethoven was forced to return to Bonn without having accomplished his purpose in Vienna. But the great capital had made an impression on him that fired his ambition to return. That ambition was not realized, however, until 1792, after five more years at Bonn.

At the death of Beethoven's mother, the whole responsibility for the family fell upon him. He seems to have carried that responsibility faithfully, but the impressions it left with him undoubtedly were factors in shaping the future course of his creative activities. Musically, however, the picture was much brighter. He became, again, a member of the elector's chapel, and was thus one of the leading musicians in what was perhaps the most brilliant period in the whole history of music at Bonn.

In 1788 the elector reorganized his musical establishment to form a national theater, using the theater of Vienna as a model. The orchestra of which Beethoven was a member contained thirty-one players; the singers were the best that could be engaged; and the repertoire included such works as Mozart's *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*. In 1790, and again in 1792, Haydn passed through Bonn on his journeys to and from England, and Beethoven made his acquaintance and received his praise. Beethoven's formal education was at an end, except for some lessons he later took in Vienna, but the warm friends he made at Bonn, particularly the Breuning family and Count Waldstein, brought him invaluable contacts with the intellectual world.

The compositions of the Bonn period were largely preparatory. Just how much of his later work was begun at Bonn is not known. It is important, however, to notice that even in this early period Beethoven began the "sketchbook" method, so characteristic of the slow and careful workmanship of his later works. Much of the explanation for his constant growth as a composer must be sought in the painstaking manner by which his ideas were transformed into musical masterpieces.

Vienna

Beethoven went to Vienna in 1792 as a pianist who sought to take the place left by Mozart, and as a young composer whose friends felt sure that even though he had as yet written no great works he would soon do so. Beethoven himself, in spite of his almost revolutionary independence, felt the need for a course of thorough instruction. He studied counterpoint with Haydn, and later with Albrechtsberger. The lessons with Haydn were based on Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and with Albrechtsberger Beethoven continued his work in the more abstract aspects of polyphonic technic. He seems never to have completely satisfied his teachers because his attitude was that of a person who learned rules only to question their ultimate value. The lessons in strict counterpoint were supplemented by help from Salieri, who had been Gluck's protégé in Italian vocal composition, and by advice from other Viennese musicians, among whom was Aloys Förster.

Beethoven as a Pianist

Beethoven was not ready immediately to appear as a composer, but the case with his playing was different. As a pianist he won the esteem and friendship of many of the members of Vienna society whose names later appeared in the dedications of his music. Although his style of playing was far different from that of Mozart, and in spite of the fact that his brusque manners cost him the friendship of many musicians, he was recognized as the greatest pianist since Mozart. It was not until 1795 that Beethoven played at a public concert, but in the meantime he had played at nearly every great house in Vienna. He won his greatest acclaim for his remarkable improvisations. The ability to improvise, now an almost forgotten art among pianists, was then a most important part of a performer's equipment and Beethoven must have astonished his hearers not only by the facility of his technic but also by the fire of his style. One of his contemporaries wrote about his playing as follows: "That

young fellow was full of the very devil! Never have I heard of such playing! He improvised on a theme I had given him as I never have heard Mozart himself improvise. Then he played compositions of his own which are in the highest degree astonishing and grandiose and he displayed difficulties and effects on the piano beyond anything of which we might have dreamed.”¹

The Periods of Beethoven's Life

It has been usual, in dealing with Beethoven as a composer, to divide his productive life into three distinct periods, coinciding with certain general stylistic changes. Such a division, as is usually the case, breaks down under the impact of the exceptions that need to be made. It is necessary in the case of Beethoven, however, to have some aid in determining the steps in a growth which not only influenced the style of Beethoven's own contributions to musical literature, but also exercised a profound effect on the whole evolution of musical art. It seems logical to separate the productions of Beethoven's formative years from those of his mature years; and it is necessary to notice that his latest works exhibit certain tendencies which group them together.

The Formative Period

From 1790 until about 1802 Beethoven was occupied with studies, with playing, and with composition. Taking up a comparatively small part of his energies early in the period, composition gradually became more and more important until near the end of the period it became the primary interest. The music of this first period undoubtedly contained much that had been originally drafted at Bonn, and it was now revised for publication. Much, too, was sketched to be worked out at a later time. To state, however, that the music of this period, which extends from opus 1 to opus 31, is the music of a composer who was forming his own style out of that of his predecessors, is to tell only part of the story. It is true that the influence of Haydn

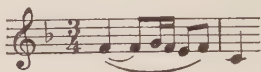
¹ O. G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries*, p. 23.

and Mozart is strong, but that influence is not so strong as to obscure Beethoven's individual idiom. Furthermore, the very elements which indicate the relationship to Haydn and Mozart never disappear altogether from Beethoven's works; consequently Beethoven's evolution cannot be said to be altogether a reaction against the formalism of the two older composers. The formative period exhibits the two aspects of Beethoven as a creative genius—a genius who realized that music may be, as it predominantly was with his immediate predecessors and most of his contemporaries, perfectly satisfactory as a pattern of sounds, a formal structure—but who instinctively felt to a much greater degree than any of his immediate predecessors that music was a medium for personal, intimate expression. These two elements—the formal or classic or partially objective, and the expressive or romantic or subjective—continued to have validity for Beethoven throughout his whole life. At first the balance was in favor of the classical element. The romantic element appeared closely bound to the classical, because no basis for its independent existence was available. Beethoven's evolution, and with it the evolution of the whole art, was inseparably connected with his ability gradually to discover the path which led not only to a style of his own but to the laws which might govern a new romantic art.

The Early Works

The danger, as has already been pointed out, of regarding any single work of art as a stepping stone to another, is that such a viewpoint may have the result of belittling the worth of the individual work in question. The period in Beethoven's life covered by the last years of the eighteenth century produced many works which must, historically, be considered as stepping stones, but which are none the less great works. The piano music includes not only the concertos, opus 15 and 19 which were conceived as brilliant showpieces with orchestra, but the sonatas "Pathétique," opus 13, "Moonlight," opus 27, number 2, and "Pastoral," opus 28. The chamber music belonging to this period is very important. The piano trio, opus 1, number 3, is a work which Beethoven himself regarded as worth rearranging as a string quintet much

later. The three string trios, opus 9, and the six string quartets, opus 18, are important additions to the permanent literature for those chamber groups. In the first quartets Beethoven struck out for himself in a method based largely on the use, which later became such an integral part of his style, of very short epigrammatic pieces of subject matter. In opus 18, number 1, which was not, however, the first of the group to be composed, the main theme of the first movement is



out of which Beethoven, by the very force of his energy, managed to construct a magnificent movement. The first and second symphonies belong to the early period. The connection between Beethoven and his musical ancestors (Haydn was still a resident of Vienna) is apparent, particularly in the first symphony, but even there the conventional minuet gave way to a scherzo movement which served as a vehicle for Beethoven's humor. The last movement is perhaps even more curious in that it shows Beethoven's power of creating a musical whole which is greater than the sum of its parts. Thematically he was preoccupied with scale.²

The tendency to enlarge the scope not only of musical forms but also of instruments is also evident in Beethoven's early works. The piano as a solo instrument becomes more resonant; as a member of an ensemble, as in the sonatas for violin and piano or in the piano trios, it dominates. The string quartets show a search for new qualities of tone, and the orchestra has convincingly ceased to play "chamber music." The first symphony was advertised as a "grand" symphony.

The processes thus begun continued into Beethoven's maturer works, but much of the later music cannot be explained altogether in relation to those processes. The further explanation must be sought in the accidents of Beethoven's life and in his personal reactions to the new world that was being created around him.

² For a complete analysis of this symphony see the author's *Hearing Music*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1941.

Beethoven's Personality: Deafness

Beethoven had never been able to acquire the polish that was a necessary adjunct of Viennese court life. His friends admired his genius and refused to be alarmed at his brusqueness, but the sharp corners of his personality were a constant source of irritation, and tended to reinforce his eccentricity. The overwhelming accident of his growing deafness, which became increasingly evident soon after 1802, brought his introspective tendency to a climax. Shut off from normal intercourse with other people, Beethoven turned more and more to music as his only satisfactory means of communication.

Beethoven's individualism made him highly sympathetic to the ideals of freedom that were finding concrete expression in the French Revolution. His lifelong interest in Schiller's "Ode to Joy" and his repeated demand that the nobility treat him as an equal were characteristic of the many incidents and anecdotes that illustrate his interest in the highest aspirations of his time. These things clamored for expression; the only means Beethoven's receptive and active mind had for achieving clear expression was through music. The whole force of Beethoven's genius and character, the circumstances of his life, and the times in which he lived, made him the agent through which the new style achieved both the right to be intentionally expressive and some understanding of the means by which expressiveness could be attained.

The Nineteenth-century Beethoven

The explanation, then, of the new Beethoven who appeared early in the nineteenth century is to be found in the fact that a set of factors, never before brought to bear on a single composer, forcibly impelled him into a new musical area—Romanticism. The problems which Beethoven, as a romanticist, had to attempt to solve were new; the works of earlier men were of little value as guides. He must have felt as Monteverde did when

that earlier revolutionary tried to formulate the rules of his *seconda prattica*.

Superficially, the great mature works show a more nearly complete mastery over the tonal materials, an increasing grandness of conception, and a much more apparent tendency to disregard the formalities of the structural balance that had characterized the later works of Haydn and Mozart. The result was the crystallization of a new style which did not owe its fundamental qualities to the superficial aspects of Beethoven's evolution, but to a much more far-reaching change in musical conception. The music of the new Beethoven proves beyond anything else that he felt the necessity that music, as a vehicle for expression, should lend itself, particularly in the matter of form, to the idea to be expressed, and should not coerce the idea into the limits of a preconceived form. That viewpoint may be taken as the point of departure for the whole Romantic Movement in music. It not only motivated the constant search for new and more expressive materials, but was fundamental to a new psychological form.

Psychological Form

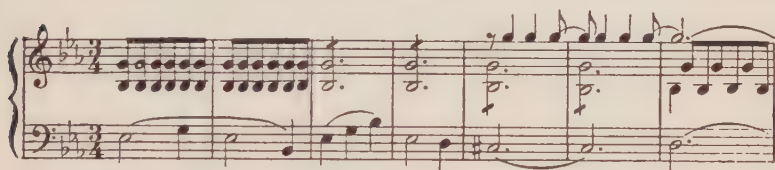
The term "psychological form" needs some explanation. The immense amount of thinking that has been done relative to the Romantic Movement in music has only recently decided on a name for a phenomenon that has long been recognized. That phenomenon is simply the deviation from classical structures necessary to the complete psychological exposition of the musical subject matter. Those deviations marked the search for a unifying element in musical form that would depend not on the older principles but on a new law governing the selection of materials from the standpoint of their expressive coherence. A structure based upon such a law may be called a "psychological form."

Beethoven was a pioneer; consequently he was not always completely successful; his works, however, furnish many examples of psychological structure. They may be discovered, on analysis, by asking why Beethoven chose to do what he did rather than to follow any one of the other possibilities which must have presented themselves to him. The principal subject of the first

movement of the Third or *Eroica* symphony, to cite an example, has a very definite expressive meaning or content; not to be connected, however, with an imagined picture or story. It simply translates, in an epigrammatic musical phase, Beethoven's conception of one aspect of heroism.



We may now ask why, to the strength and solidity of that melody, he chose to add the nervously energetic accompaniment:



Why did he choose to introduce the music thus far with two incisive, heavy tonic chords? The answer is not that he was clever enough to give himself plenty of subject matter at the very beginning, in order to be able to write a "big" piece of music without running out of building material, but that he had in mind a definite psychological impression he wanted his subject matter to make, and consequently chose his material accordingly.

Musical Meaning

An analysis of this symphony from measure to measure and from phrase to phrase, based upon the answers to questions like those asked above, would result in an outline of a psychological form. The difficulty of making such an analysis is due to the fact that words are a treacherous medium for the expression of musical meanings. Words depend for their meanings largely on concepts that have too complicated a context. The word "strength," as used above to answer our question, must retain, when used in this connection, its abstract meaning: simply "strength," not strength of muscles, or of intellect, or of character. Beethoven has, in this movement, caught and crystallized in music an im-

mense abstraction—heroic strength and vitality. He goes on, through a magnificent web of musical interplay, contrast, and climax, to present that idea in complete exposition. The necessities of his psychological plan caused an extension of the perfectly balanced forms that had been used in the sonata and symphony, but the new forms substituted for the old, and made legitimate the extension.

A close analysis of almost any of Beethoven's work will display this characteristic of his method and style. The second movement of his *Eroica* symphony is a remarkable case in point. From the viewpoint of a "classical" analysis, it comes nearer to being a rondo than anything else. The basic outline would be as follows:

A	B	A	C	A	Coda
A	B			A	
beginning to <i>Maggiore</i> first 68 measures		<i>Maggiore</i> measures 69-104		<i>Minore</i> measures 105-113	
C		A		Coda	
beginning in F minor, fugal measures 114-153		measures 154-208		measures 209-end	

It is doubtful if a rondo with the sort of balance between sections which this one has would have satisfied Mozart. The second A has only nine measures, compared with sixty-eight for the first and thirty-nine for the third! Something has put this "classical" form out of balance. Beethoven must have had another purpose for this music than that of writing simply a well-balanced rondo. To learn Beethoven's purpose in cases like this, it has been usual to gather evidence from such things as the title of the symphony, the title of the movement (*Marcia funebre*), the destruction of the original dedication to Napoleon, and such incidents as may be gleaned from Beethoven's biography. The normal result of using only this sort of evidence is the kind of understanding of the movement which has been transmitted by Sir George Grove to thousands of program annotations: "And a March it is, worthy

to accompany the obsequies of a hero of the noblest mould, such a one as Napoleon appeared to his admirers in 1803, before selfishness, lying, cruelty, and just retribution had dragged him down from that lofty pinnacle.”³

But, granting that this music might have been intended as a march for Napoleon’s funeral—composed years in anticipation of his death!—how could this circumstance have caused the composer to distort what could have been as well-balanced a rondo as, for instance, he made for the slow movement of the “Pathétique” Sonata? Grove’s reference to the “obsequies of a hero” may have some validity, but there is a better explanation to be found in the music itself, an explanation which will throw light not only on Beethoven’s intention, but on the processes which controlled the music of most of his successors.

The first A of this movement is, in itself, a small ternary form, expanded by repetitions which, if they were the kind secured by repeat marks, would be entirely conventional. This small form has two themes:

Marcia funebre
Adagio assai

1 2

1 *pp sotto voce*

3 4 5

³ Sir George Grove, *Beethoven and His Nine Symphonies*, p. 71.

The musical score is for a piano piece, likely from Beethoven's Op. 10, No. 1. It is in B-flat major (two flats) and 2/4 time. The score is divided into three systems of measures.

- System 1 (Measures 6-8):** Measures 6 and 7 are marked *sf* (sforzando). Measure 8 is marked *p* (piano). The bass line features triplets in measures 6, 7, and 8.
- System 2 (Measures 17-19):** Measure 17 is marked *p*. Measure 18 has a *cresc.* (crescendo) marking. Measure 19 is marked *cresc.* and *sf*.
- System 3 (Measures 20-22):** Measure 20 is marked *f* (forte). Measure 21 is marked *p*. Measure 22 is marked *sf*.

The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

The inflections and tensions involved in these themes deserve a close examination. The first one derives a definite general quality from the fact that it is in minor and is governed, harmonically and melodically, by the downward pull of the minor third of the tonic chord. This quality is supported by the slow tempo and the low tone color of the strings. The downward motion of the melodic line in measures 2, 3, 4, 6, and 7 emphasizes a kind of loss of energy which is characteristic. In many of its details the music is funereal. But notice how Beethoven amends that quality. The first harmonic tone in the bass, the low C, is approached by an upward thrust over the upper tetrachord of the ascending harmonic

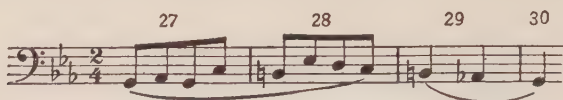
minor scale which is identical with the major scale. This is repeated three times, after which the upward motion of the bass is used for two measures (3 and 4) to counteract the descent of the melody. The descent in measure 5, while it opposes a rising melody, leads to a strongly enunciated root-position diminished seventh chord, a point of very strong dynamic and harmonic tension which is released through the ascending bass leading into measure 7. After this come the two pairs of triplet thirty-second notes which introduce a *rhythmic* vigor which will be so characteristic of the immediate restatement of the theme. The theme ends with the powerful upthrust of the subdominant harmony. Thus the bass line actually redefines the funereal quality which, with only a superficial hearing, seems to pervade this music. This strength is present also in the melodic line. Notice the energy of the dotted rhythm of measures 2 and 5, and how that quality is multiplied in measure 3 where the short notes precede the long. Also note that the most characteristic motion of the melody is upward; that it climbs a minor ninth in five measures and ends on the tonic above its starting dominant.

The reiteration of this theme is made at a level an octave higher than the original statement. This octave ascent must come as a result of the strength of the first statement. The accompaniment here is a continuation of the vigorous triplet figure which was introduced just before the melody lifted an octave. It is noteworthy, too, that this time, when the melody reaches the high A flat, it stays there longer and then returns only to the tonic of the relative major, E flat.



With the second piece of thematic material the atmosphere changes from minor to major. Here each melodic descent is answered by a rise, successively higher until the climax on the *sforzando* C. The effect of the tremendous upward thrust of measure 2 is significant. But Beethoven is not ready to maintain this new mood for long, and the music soon falls back to minor

over a passage in the violoncellos which frankly descends over the augmented second.



At the moment, however, when the music seems ready for the original C minor, Beethoven makes one of his sudden changes: the chord on C is not the minor tonic but the dominant seventh for a new—and *higher*—key: F minor.

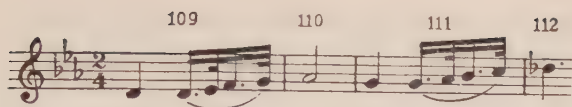
As one follows this score, it should become more and more apparent how Beethoven is constantly emphasizing the qualities of energy and strength which he has imparted to his thematic material. The first recurrence (measure 47) of the passage which was just cited finds the downward augmented second partly hidden in a surrounding texture:



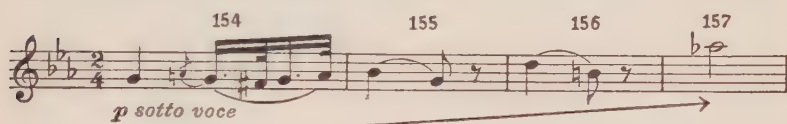
Much later in the movement, measures 191 to 194, this device will be carried still further.

The gentle upward inflection of the themes of section B need only to be mentioned. This music arrives quite logically as a result of the process which began in section A.

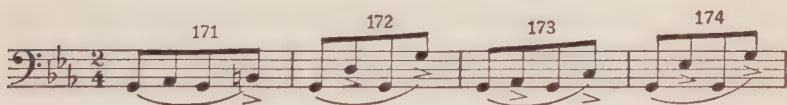
When section A arrives for the second time, it is a momentary return to the mood of the beginning. The classical plan would have called for a complete restatement of this section, with both of its themes. But to Beethoven's plan that was impossible. The mood of the music has changed; a long return to a past mood would destroy the meaning. So the remembered melody fades away, *upward*, substituting for the original descent of measures 6 and 7 a reiteration of the ascent of measure 5.



For those who insist on the "march" quality of this movement, section C must seem to be one of Beethoven's mistakes. It is no longer a funeral march, but an energetic working out of a fugally treated theme. It is minor, to be sure, but it moves forward with a vigorous rhythm that drives away the funereal atmosphere with its strength and vitality. After this section, how well can the music remember the original theme?



A suggestion of the theme, but not the original C minor, and the melodic line fades away to be answered by the biting fortissimo of strings and brass: music that is busy with a completely new way of talking about a C minor which sounds now like a foreign key. The triplet sixteenths and the trumpet figure continue; but they subside in dynamic intensity to make room for a new bass figure which emphasizes an imperative rising inflection:



Only inside of this new fabric can the old theme be remembered!

One would like to know whether or not the beginning of the coda, measure 209, was intended by Beethoven to be a kind of reference to the slow movement of Haydn's "Clock" symphony. Certainly at the end of the movement, during which considerable musical "time" has been consumed, the original mood of the piece can be brought back in halting fragments only.

Beethoven must have had another purpose for this music than that of writing simply a well-balanced rondo. Beethoven did! He was trying to tell his listener, with a language which he felt

had sublime nuances, that one had only to listen and one would know that in Beethoven's concept of heroism the idea of death is a source of solemn strength. The nice rondo of his predecessors had to make way for the kind of formal structure which would embody this new purpose.

Music has cheaper, less legitimate expressive possibilities; the imitation of natural sounds and motions had long been exploited, even by musicians of good taste. But that aspect of music, indulged in naïvely by some composers, and with pointed humor by others, must not be confused with the fundamental extension of the whole area of musical art which was the result of the insight of the true romanticist.

Beethoven as a Romanticist

The foregoing analysis indicates Beethoven's approach to what later came to be known as Romanticism. Completely to realize its implications was too much for any one composer. Beethoven was too near the classic ideal to neglect it altogether; the classical forms are always visible in his music. The conventional summary of his contribution to this aspect of musical development is that he gave the classical forms expressive content, thus carrying their development to the point past which they could not go without breaking down. The present interpretation is that, without discarding the musical principles embodied in the classical forms, he discovered and began to apply a new formal principle based upon the expressive value of musical materials. It should be added that Beethoven, in choosing to work with abstract instrumental music, chose the most difficult and laborious path to romanticism.

Beethoven's Mature Works

For the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, Beethoven continued to live in a musical world which had sufficient contact with that of his contemporaries for them to follow him. Men with little vision and less talent clamored against the revolutions he

wrought with each new work, but the "modernists," with but few exceptions, were able to understand sympathetically. Almost every composition was a great work. Beethoven allowed nothing to leave his workroom until he was satisfied, and one of his most outstanding characteristics was an unlimited capacity for self-criticism. Merely to list these works seems pathetically insufficient, but no history of music is complete without such a list:

THE SYMPHONIES

- No. 3 *Eroica* in E \flat , opus 55
- No. 4 in B \flat , opus 60
- No. 5 in C minor, opus 67
- No. 6 *Pastoral* in F, opus 68
- No. 7 in A, opus 92
- No. 8 in F, opus 93

THE PIANO WORKS

- Three sonatas, G, D minor, E \flat , opus 31
- Sonata in C, the "Waldstein," opus 53
- Sonata in F, opus 54
- Sonata in F minor, the "Appassionata," opus 57
- Piano concerto No. 4, in G, opus 58
- Piano concerto No. 5 in E \flat , opus 73
- Sonatas in F \sharp , opus 78; G, opus 79; E \flat , opus 81
- Sonata in E minor, opus 90
- Sonata in A, opus 101

THE OPERA, *Fidelio* (*Leonora*), opus 72

CHAMBER MUSIC

- Sonata in A, opus 47 ("Kreutzer"), for violin and piano
- Three quartets in F, E minor, and C, opus 59
- Sonata in A, opus 69, for piano and violoncello
- Two trios in D and E \flat , opus 70, for piano, violin, and violoncello
- Quartets in E \flat , opus 74, and in F minor, opus 95
- Trio in B \flat , opus 97, for piano, violin, and violoncello
- Sonata in G, opus 96, for violin and piano

NUMEROUS VOCAL AND CHORAL WORKS

The pathetic aspect of the appearance of such a list in a history of music is due to the fact that the names of great works, without an intimate acquaintance with the works themselves,

mean so little. Here, if ever, is great art, which functions not at all unless it is heard!

Works for the Distant Future

The last seven years of Beethoven's life cannot be separated as a definite period, except in the sense that he had now arrived at the consummation of his genius. Many of the late works, such as the final five quartets, are in a realm to which his contemporaries, and many of his successors, could not penetrate. He had drawn within himself; the sensuous charm which had for so long been considered as the most important aspect of music no longer interested him. His imagination could no longer respond to the lure of beautiful sounds as ends in themselves; music was no longer a pattern of sounds—it was the pattern of a man's mind translated into sound.

Just as was the case with Bach, Beethoven reached outside the boundary of his own times into the future, and assured himself a place of influence among the musicians of a later generation who finally could understand him. It might be questioned whether we have yet arrived at the future which both of these giants anticipated. Their greatest works—in the case of Beethoven the *Ninth Symphony*, the *Missa Solemnis*, the last three or four piano sonatas, and the last five quartets—are in a territory of art above the lesser considerations of changing musical conventionalities.

Beethoven's Influence

Historical cause and effect, particularly in an art like music, does not always follow the obvious chronology. As far as historical influence is concerned, for instance, Bach's great works might well have been written a hundred years later than they were; only late in the first half of the nineteenth century did musicians realize their implications. The same thing is true of Beethoven's later works; only after their composer had been dead nearly half a century was a basis for understanding them discovered. Beethoven's influence was cumulative throughout the

nineteenth century and probably will continue to be for some time to come. But even during his lifetime he led the way in accumulating musical methods and materials. His *Ninth Symphony* is different from Mozart's *Jupiter*, and that difference is a measure of the accumulation.

The implications of equal temperament within the tonal system had achieved realization. Beethoven's tonal structure is free; he moves from one key to another with a fluency that was both revolutionary and epoch-making. The use of dissonance became an integral part of his harmonic resources. The capacities of instruments had to grow to meet the demands of his imagination. The piano, in his hands, and through his music, achieved the position from which it still dominates the whole field of instrumental music. The orchestra was enlarged. Not only did Beethoven add instruments as he felt the need for them, but he wrote independently for every instrumental part, including that of the contrabass! He achieved a sonority and variety of tone color that remade the orchestra and became the basis for a new art of orchestration. About the year of Beethoven's birth, Burney was surprised and pleased at the control of expressive dynamics exhibited by the Mannheim orchestra. With Beethoven every imaginable dynamic quality became commonplace—no longer a matter left to the taste of the performer, but as much a part of the composer's creative function as the writing of the notes themselves. *Tone color* finally became, with harmony, melody, and rhythm, one of the basic musical resources.

Beethoven's formal procedures have already received attention. One of the results of his search for a logic that would govern the expressive qualities of music was a distinct tightening of the amount of new musical material that was allowed entrance into the sonata structure. Although both the balance between the parts and the tonal plan of the form were allowed much greater freedom, Beethoven's logic demanded a unity of subject matter that led to an almost polyphonic grasp of thematic development. Phrases, periods, and sections are connected by like subject matter, and not, as was often the case with Haydn and Mozart, separated by the introduction of new material. To a structure based on a psychological unity new material could be dangerously irrelevant.

Haydn and Mozart were seen to represent one segment in an evolutionary cycle which began with the new monophonic instrumental style. Their position as classicists was that of men who achieved a perfection in the development and use of new and necessary abstract forms. That cycle continued its inexorable course in the music of Beethoven. Basing his work on the forms and materials of his predecessors, he continued the development by greatly extending musical resources, to a new conception of musical possibilities—the romantic. He was, in other words, the bridge between Classicism and Romanticism.

Readings

A. W. Thayer	<i>Life of Beethoven</i>
Paul Bekker	<i>Beethoven</i>
Romain Rolland	<i>Beethoven</i>
D. G. Mason	<i>Beethoven and His Forerunners</i>
Ludwig Nohl	<i>Beethoven: Depicted by His Contemporaries</i>
O. G. Sonneck	<i>Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries</i>
J. W. N. Sullivan	<i>Beethoven: His Spiritual Development</i>
R. H. Schauffler	<i>Beethoven: The Man Who Freed Music</i>
W. J. Turner	<i>Beethoven: The Search for Reality</i>
Adam Carse	<i>The History of Orchestration</i>
Louis Adolph Coerne	<i>The Evolution of Modern Orchestration</i>
Herbert Westerby	<i>The History of Pianoforte Music</i>
E. Markham Lee	<i>The Story of the Symphony</i>
George Grove	<i>Beethoven's Nine Symphonies</i>
Gustav Nottebohm	<i>Beethoveniana</i>
	<i>Zweite Beethoveniana</i>

Part Seven: The Romantic Period

PROLOGUE: INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, EVOLUTION, IMPERIALISM

AS THE eighteenth century moved toward its close, the two opposing concepts of the relationship between the individual and the state came into sharper and sharper conflict. No matter how enlightened the representative of the "divine right of kings" might be, he was faced almost everywhere with the proposition that individuals were "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" which were not compatible with a king's "divine" rights. Does the individual exist for the good of the state, or is the state a device to safeguard the good of the individual? The issue was joined in the eighteenth century, and has remained ever since, in one part of the world or another, a cause for conflict. It colored the whole life of the nineteenth century.

Implicit in the acceptance of the concept of individual freedom was a tremendous hope for the increased well-being and dignity of the common man. This hope brought with it another: the belief in the limitless perfectibility of men's

relationships with one another. These hopes, many of them now only dimly remembered through the smoke of twentieth-century destruction, gave the nineteenth century its text and its mission. It was the "century of hope."

Progress sometimes stumbled. But its very stumbling kept hope renewed. Napoleon's later career, followed as it was by the reaffirmation of the old order at the Congress of Vienna, only gave Napoleon, and later Metternich, the dubious honor of personifying the enemies of the common man's hope.

The great increase in trade—in the production and movement of goods—was a symbol of the change from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The industrial revolution, even with all its accompanying concentration of power and exploitation of workers, seemed to hold a promise of a better life. Science and invention held the same promise: the mastery of steam and electricity should lighten the burden of labor; medicine should lengthen men's lives and protect them from its disease and pain. Reform after reform looked toward a better life. Education available to all became an ideal which fell only a little short of accomplishment. Biological science discovered a formula which seemed to be applicable not only to man himself but also to his institutions, and in that application seemed to reaffirm his belief in perfectibility.

Victor Hugo could call his account of the coup d'état by which Louis Bonaparte became Napoleon III "The History of a Crime" with the assurance that he had the sympathy and understanding of his readers. Those who dared to whisper that the common man could not lead himself to perfection were criminally pessimistic. Even those who had some misgivings swallowed them and sang with Pippa:

The year's at the spring
 And day's at the morn;
 Morning's at seven;
 The hill-side's dew-pearled;
 The lark's on the wing;
 The snail's on the thorn:
 God's in his heaven—
 All's right with the world!

This nineteenth-century world, so near to our own in time and yet so far away because of our loss of its enthusiasms, furnished the inspiration for an outpouring of art and literature and music of gigantic proportion. At its beginning Goethe was at the height of his power, Beethoven was hearing the performance of his first symphony, Wordsworth was writing his Preface to the second edition of Lyrical Ballads. As its years moved on, poet after poet, novelist after novelist, thinker after thinker, painter after painter, composer after composer broke away from the formulated conventionalities of the court-dominated pre-revolutionary period and moved into the imaginative, individually expressive freedom of Romanticism. As the century reached its meridian, its artists gave expression—the kind of expression learned from their excursions into Romanticism—to the aspirations of their time. From Dickens through Hugo to Tolstoy the novel became a discussion of social problems. The yearnings of the individual human soul guided the composer's pen as he composed songs and symphonies. The beauty of the common scene as it appealed to the common eye, with here and there the motivation of the novelist (a quality Goya has), guided the brush of the painter.

In music, as in the other arts, hints of the ideas, ideals, and even the methods which flowered in the nineteenth

century may be found in earlier periods. Many of the ideals of former centuries had to wait for the nineteenth for their realization. Beethoven, perhaps the most characteristic composer of the whole century, has already been discussed. There is good reason for that. What he accomplished, what he thought and felt and embodied in music, furnishes the clue for what is to follow. He felt the new world that was emerging around him. He went out to meet it with a new, free, human art that was to arouse his successors, as the whole nineteenth century was aroused, by the hopes of all of its revolutionary predecessors.

28

EARLY ROMANTIC OPERA

The Successors of Gluck

THE ROMANTIC OPERA was distinctly a phenomenon of the nineteenth century, but in order to understand its relationship to previous operatic forms, the history of opera must be brought up to date. Gluck's changes were the most radical and far-reaching indications of the transition through which opera was passing during the last half of the eighteenth century. His works strongly influenced the taste of opera goers, a change which radiated from Paris and Vienna to most of the rest of Europe. To meet that change, Gluck's younger contemporaries and successors found it necessary to follow somewhat in the direction he had indicated. In so doing, their works served as the transition, throughout Europe, to a kind of opera that was to be a genuine expression of the romantic spirit.

Italy: Sarti, Paesiello, Cimarosa, and Zingarelli

The type of Italian opera against which Gluck had so vigorously labored was supported by too strong a tradition immediately to accept a reform from the outside. The changes that were effected came slowly and were the result more of changing conditions over which composers had little control than of conscious attempts at reform. Gradually the use of artificial voices was eliminated; the constant infiltration of some of the most obvious northern additions to musical technic was evident. But always in the foreground was the characteristic Italian love for vocal melody. Under the impact of Romanticism, that love for melody was to develop into a sensuous lyricism that was molded to some extent into the old forms.

Recent years have seen a remarkable increase in interest in such men as Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802), Giovanni Paesiello (1741-1816), Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801), and Nicola Zingarelli (1752-1837), many of whose works had been neglected for almost a century. They had an immense contemporary importance and were in demand as composers of opera from Naples to St. Petersburg to London. Cimarosa's *Il matrimonio segreto* (1792) was one of the most popular works of the late eighteenth century and was acclaimed as the great successor to Pergolesi's *La serva padrona* in the field of *opera buffa*. The works of these men formed the bridge from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries in the field of Italian opera. They transmitted many of the faults of their predecessors, but at the same time they also prepared the way for some of the virtues of their successors. They mark the complete preoccupation of the Italians with opera, at the expense of any other type of artistic musical expression—the withdrawal from Italy to Germany of all musical creative activity, except in connection with the stage. The vitality of even that segment of musical creation suffered from the absence of composers who could lead rather than follow public taste.

France

Paris, strongly under the influence of Gluck, was still the meeting place for French and Italian opera. The works of foreign composers appeared at the *Opéra* and the *Opéra comique* almost as frequently as the works of French composers, while the performances at the Italian theater rivaled in popularity those of the national theaters. The fundamental differences between the French forms of the old *opera seria* and *opera buffa*, as they had become crystallized at the *Opéra* and the *Opéra comique* had all but broken down; little remained but the superficial distinction which called for recitative at the *Opéra* and spoken dialogue at the *Opéra comique*.

Grétry

André Grétry (1741-1813), a Belgian who had settled at Paris after several years of study in Italy, composed almost entirely for the *Opéra comique*. Although some of his works remained in the tradition of comic opera, the tendency was to dignify the form. It was largely through the works of Grétry, who achieved a remarkable popularity, that the French *Opéra comique* tradition was preserved through the stormy years of the Revolution, and continued to be, during the nineteenth century, a distinct French *genre*.

Méhul

Etienne Méhul (1763-1817), a composer of works which belonged to the same *genre* as those of Grétry, was a disciple of Gluck. As such he attempted to guard against the dangers of both the overpiquant style of the characteristic *opéra comique* and the overconventional style of the Italians. By placing the lighter operatic form on a solid musical foundation Méhul prepared the way for the use of that form as a romantic vehicle.

Lesueur

Jean François Lesueur (1760-1837) was not a prolific composer, but he was important because of his theoretical works and because he was the teacher of Hector Berlioz and Ambroise Thomas. In his writings, and to some extent in his musical works, he forecast many of the phenomena that were to accompany the complete acceptance of the romantic approach to music. Lesueur was almost completely out of sympathy with both methods and ideals of Classicism; he believed that the only function of music was to accompany a series of extramusical ideas. Musical method, especially that aspect of it which depended upon harmonic, melodic, or rhythmic convention, Lesueur felt should be sacrificed to this new ideal. In connection with opera, Lesueur might be called a follower of Gluck. Gluck's works, however, were composed under the influence of a classical restraint which Lesueur did not feel.

Cherubini

Maria Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842), an Italian, and a pupil of Sarti, made Paris his home from 1788 until his death. He represented the best aspect of the Italian tradition; his special interest, aside from the opera, leaned toward the type of polyphonic composition which eighteenth-century musicians called the "Palestrina style." As composer of operas which attempted to meet the French taste, and as director of the newly founded *Conservatoire*, he exerted an immense influence. Beethoven held him in great respect as a composer for the stage.

Spontini

Gasparo Spontini (1774-1851) was another Italian who made Paris the center of his creative activity. He was a follower of Gluck in that he wished to emphasize the dramatic aspect of opera, but he was too much of an Italian to be able to escape

altogether the vocal glitter of the Italian convention. His operas, particularly *La vestale* (1809), were important because they epitomized the approach to Romanticism that was being made by operatic composers who were not consciously romanticists. Spontini was not a revolutionary in the sense that he desired to upset tradition, but his ability to grasp dramatic situations and set them luxuriously was a distinct foretaste of what conscious Romanticism would bring to the opera.

Boiieldieu

François Boiieldieu (1775-1834) deserves mention as a composer of *opéra comique* who attained popularity during the early years of the nineteenth century. His works, of which *La dame blanche* (1825) is characteristic, represent a phase of musical activity that is always present in any city possessed of a large musical public—that of the attempt to write brilliantly and pleasingly. As music which leaned neither backward nor forward, the works of Boiieldieu represent in an illuminating manner what may be called a “cross section” of the taste of the time.

The six men who have been briefly noticed represent diverse and conflicting artistic ideals that can be understood only in the light of the literary, artistic, and social ferment which characterized not only Paris and France but the whole of Europe (and North America) during the period. That there could be, in Paris, a large element that still paid service to classical ideals, a gradual but steady return of Italian opera to the popularity which Gluck had helped to destroy, and at the same time a noticeable movement in the direction of Romanticism, was entirely characteristic of the French reference of change to Reason. Even when Romanticism was strongest in France, in the years following 1825, its products did not achieve popularity unless they were tempered with Reason. But the growth of romantic opera in France, beyond the formative stage before 1824, cannot be understood without reference to what was taking place in Germany.

Germany: The Singspiel: Hiller and Reichardt

The course of German operatic composition through the works of Gluck and Mozart has already been discussed. Both, as opera composers, were cosmopolitan rather than German, and although Mozart was enthusiastic over the possibilities of German opera, he had little opportunity to develop his interests in that direction. The true German opera, or *Singspiel*, had been one of the sources of strength to the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Hamburg opera, but during the first half of the eighteenth century it had given way on the important stages of Germany before the great popularity of Italian music and musicians. During the last half of the eighteenth century, however, interest in the *Singspiel* began to return. The popularity of Haydn's operetta *Der neue krumme Teufel* has already been noted. Two men, among many of less worth, deserve at least passing mention for their contributions to the growth of the *Singspiel*. They are Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804), who enriched the popular stage by a fresh dramatic rehabilitation of the German folk-song idiom, and Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752-1814), who, as chapelmaster to Friedrich Wilhelm II at Potsdam and Berlin, produced a large number of works in the *Singspiel* form and introduced a variant of that type in the *Liederspiel*. In 1778 the emperor established the national *Singspiel* in Vienna for which Mozart's *Entführung aus dem Serail* was later written.

E. T. A. Hoffmann

More important than the operatic background as an element in the approaching change was, however, the growth of a romantic literature, represented most pointedly by the writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776-1822). Hoffmann was a peculiar combination of law clerk, musician, and author. His writings, the most remarkable of which were a set of essays entitled *Kreiskleriana*, the story of a musician whose emotionalized ideals constantly conflicted with the Philistinism of his environment, combine the most extravagant fantasy with remarkably telling

and prophetic musical criticism. Within a few years after 1809, when the essays began to appear in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Hoffmann was read all over Europe. What he had to say crystallized the hitherto only partially expressed tendencies; Romanticism was now ready to emerge from an almost universal instinctive perception to the status of an ideal toward which artists could consciously strive.

The Composers of Early Romantic Opera

The men who reached maturity about 1820 were not only the heirs of the tremendous body of musical technic, materials, and forms, brought to climaxes in two great styles by Bach and Beethoven, but they also inherited what was more immediately portentous, an aesthetic concept which opened up a new world for artistic exploitation. Those men did not succeed equally well—their achievements differed by reason of talent and environment—but they all contributed to a tremendous expansion of musical materials and methods. In Germany they were Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826), Ludwig Spohr (1784-1859), and Heinrich August Marschner (1795-1861). In France, Daniel François Auber (1782-1871), Louis Joseph Hérold (1791-1833), Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), and Jacques Halévy (1799-1862). In Italy, Gioachino Antonio Rossini (1792-1868), Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848), and Vincenzo Bellini (1802-1835).

Romanticism

In order completely to understand the meaning of a term like Romanticism, a simple definition is neither sufficient nor possible; the student must gradually build up a series of concepts which represent the *ingredients* that have been compounded in the larger term. It has already been necessary, as a basis for understanding the momentum which carried music through the classical period, to establish a basic ingredient of Romanticism, namely, that of the psychological-expressive possibilities inherent in musical materials. That was done in relation to Beethoven,

whose work in that direction fell largely into the years between 1800 and 1820. Much of the development for which that ingredient of Romanticism was responsible was strikingly forecast by an English writer in 1832 when he said that "these inharmonious sounds may form a new order of discords, more obscure than those we now possess—a set of still darker shades by which we may more forcibly depict the sublime."¹ But that ingredient accounts only partially for the elements of Romanticism, especially the aspects of Romanticism which produced new conceptions of the possibilities of opera.

The origin of the term "romantic," as the word is used to describe a phase of artistic evolution, is to be found in the medieval *romances* of chivalry. The fantastic and marvelous aspects of those chronicles, known to moderns chiefly through Cervantes' great satire, *Don Quixote*, were held to be the essence of the romance, and hence romantic. During the late eighteenth century several factors tended to reawaken a literary interest in the old romances. In the first place, they were a part of the folklore of European nations and as such constituted a basis for the conscious artistic nationalism which accompanied the growth of corresponding conscious political nationalism. In the second place, they furnished a new fund of artistic material that was in keeping with the individualistic temper of the times. Finally, and of more immediate importance for opera, they furnished a much needed relief from the threadbare and overworked legends of remote antiquity which had been, for two hundred years, a part of the stock in trade of the gentlemen who manufactured librettos. The "romantic" legends furnished vehicles for patriotic and personal expression—for an expression that could treat with the utmost seriousness the most extravagant and surprising incident. The early composers of romantic opera based their methods, then, on an understanding of Romanticism which included, with a logic that was at least popular, both the psychological value of musical materials and the right to use those materials to depict the fantastic extravagance of literary "romance." The student must remember that by 1820 these two concepts were the important *ingredients* of Romanticism.

¹ William Gardiner, *The Music of Nature*, p. 26.

Weber

Romantic opera, and with it the Romantic Movement in music, was established by the performance of Weber's *Der Freischütz* in Berlin in 1821. The work is so important that its composer deserves more than passing attention.

Weber was the son of an itinerant actor-manager. As a boy he traveled with his father's troupe, thereby gaining not only a most intimate knowledge of the stage, but also an appreciation for the German scene that undoubtedly formed the basis for his intense patriotism. Weber's father, who was an accomplished amateur musician, and a cousin of Mozart's wife, made every effort to give his son a thorough musical education. Owing to the fact that the Weber family did not remain for long in one place, Weber's musical instruction was diversified, but it included adequate instruction in piano and composition, with some lessons from Michael Haydn at Salzburg and acquaintance with, and advice from, musicians in almost every important musical center in southern Germany. His first important post was at Breslau (1804-1806), where his gifts, not only as pianist and composer but also as conductor, received further development and recognition. After the short engagement at Breslau, Weber roamed from one end of Germany to the other, living a life of strong contrasts, meeting all of his literary and musical contemporaries, composing and performing, but seemingly unable to settle himself sufficiently to carry through his ambitions for German opera. Finally, in 1817, he was appointed director of the newly founded German opera at Dresden, where he spent most of the remainder of his short life. He died in 1826 in London, where he had gone to supervise the production of his last work, *Oberon*.

Aside from much remarkable instrumental music and several very interesting early operas, Weber's lasting fame rests upon the three great romantic German operas which were his last works. *Der Freischütz* (1821), *Euryanthe* (1823), and *Oberon* (1826), but particularly *Der Freischütz*, are not only master works which have retained their places in the operatic repertoire for more than

a century, but also they are the first great milestones in the history of romantic opera.

The story of *Freischütz* was part and parcel of German folklore, with the interest centering about the hopes and superstitions of the peasantry, against a background of weird and gloomy forest. Weber conceived the music, not only with telling dramatic intuition, but also with a skill in the invention of folk-songlike melodies and a mastery of orchestral color that make *Der Freischütz* almost as fresh today as it was when it was first performed. Many of the melodies and choruses have made their way into the reservoir of German popular music, and no composer has surpassed, in sheer blood-congealing gruesomeness, the midnight scene in the devil's glen.

The full swing of the Romantic Movement in Germany was established by an opera, but the influence of Weber's methods was felt almost as strongly in the symphonic field. Weber's use of the orchestra as a medium for depicting the background of the action on the stage gave an immense impetus to colorful and descriptive orchestral writing. The overtures to *Der Freischütz*, *Euryanthe*, and *Oberon* were not merely overtures: they were poems in orchestral tone which proved to romantic symphonists the desirability of further explorations in the same direction. Excerpts from Weber's scores served as illustrations in textbooks on orchestration throughout the nineteenth century.

As romantic opera, Weber's works had an international influence, but as German opera they founded a new school. Both Spohr and Marschner followed his direction, though with less permanent influence. The great climax to Weber's spirit is to be seen later in the works of Richard Wagner.

Romanticism in France: Auber and Rossini

Beginning about 1824, Beethoven's symphonies began to capture the imagination of the younger element of French composers. They completely accepted E. T. A. Hoffmann's interpretation when he wrote: "Beethoven's music stirs the mists of fear, of horror, of terror, of grief, and awakens that endless longing which

is the very essence of Romanticism.”² In 1824 *Der Freischütz* was performed in Paris under the name *Robin des bois*. At first it was not understood, but as the Parisians gradually became familiar with its spirit, it began to exert an influence.

Auber's *La muette de Portici* (1828), based on the events of a Neapolitan revolution in 1647, achieved a remarkable popularity as the first French romantic opera, but French operatic Romanticism found its first great expression and definition in Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* in 1829. Rossini was an Italian, but his reputation was international; and after a great success in London in 1823, he was appointed director of the Paris *Opéra*. After a series of operas of more or less conventional design and style which included *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, he changed his manner to meet the already quite definite demands of Romanticism. Such a change could not escape some elements of superficiality, and there is no doubt that Rossini was intent upon success at any cost; but in spite of that, the score of *Guillaume Tell* contains many pages of dignified and original writing in keeping with the best romantic ideals.

Hérold and Halévy

The Parisian operatic composers who were not foreigners were never able completely to abandon the qualities of lightness and reasonableness which, characteristically French, and consequently valid, stood somewhat in the way of a complete realization of the ideals of Romanticism. Such works as Hérold's *Zampa* and Halévy's *La Juive* need not be condemned because they fail to exhibit the stylistic qualities of Weber; Frenchmen could not escape being French.

Meyerbeer

The story of early romantic opera is incomplete without reference to Giacomo Meyerbeer. Born Jacob Meyer, the son of a

² Arthur Ware Locke, *Music and the Romantic Movement in France*, pp. 76-77.

wealthy Berlin banker, he later Italianized his name to the form in which we now know it. As a remarkable pianist who wished only to compose opera, Meyerbeer went after some years of study in Germany to Italy. For some time he vacillated between the German and the Italian styles. His German friends, among whom Weber was the most important, looked to Meyerbeer as the great German operatic composer of the future. But after the popular success of Meyerbeer's *Crociato* in Venice in 1824, he gave up his ideals concerning German opera and took the easier road to popularity. The appearance of *Crociato* in Paris was the beginning of a connection which eventually resulted in his making Paris his home. From 1831 his greatest works were written for the Paris opera; hence, in spite of the fact that he later resided in Berlin, his name belongs among the list of French romanticists.

Meyerbeer's style was a curious mixture of German, Italian, and French. He had remarkable powers of assimilation and was consequently able to write in almost any style at will. Such ability is not an unmixed blessing; it usually prevents a composer from developing his own style. Meyerbeer was no exception, and he was often accused of musical charlatanism. Nevertheless his *Robert le Diable* (1831), *Les Huguenots* (1836), *Le Prophète* (1843), and *Africaine* (1865) brought to the literature of romantic opera a magnificence of conception and variety of stylistic detail that exerted a profound influence not only in France but also in Germany.

Romanticism in Italy

Italy, the home of opera, was neither able nor did it have the desire to adopt whole-heartedly the implications of the Romantic Movement. The judgment of historians trained to believe completely in the double ascendancy of Germany and the Romantic Movement during the nineteenth century has usually been derogatory to the Italians. But that judgment needs to be tempered by a realization of the great popularity of the Italian composers and by a recognition of the almost unbearable political handicap to any vigorous intellectual life in Italy between 1800 and 1871.

One of the most provocative aspects of Romanticism in opera was the use of patriotic incident as a basis for plot. Operas like *Der Freischütz*, *Guillaume Tell*, *Les Huguenots*, and even Beethoven's *Fidelio*, made a distinct appeal to the patriotic emotions of their composers, and were accepted because of their like appeal to the audience. But in Italy, from one end to the other suppressed under a ruthless political tyranny, such subject matter was never allowed to reach the stage. No matter how patriotic an Italian artist might feel, he dared not express himself. When the slightest excuse for a patriotic demonstration escaped the censor, audiences, to the chagrin of their foreign governors, always took advantage of it. The popularity of Verdi, at the middle of the century, was greatly enhanced because the letters of his name formed an anagram. When his audiences shouted *Vivo Verdi!* they meant

Vivo Vittorio	Victor
Emanuello	Emanuel
Re	King
d'	of (a united)
Italia	Italy

Under such circumstances a free development of the artistic implications of the Romantic Movement was impossible.

Donizetti and Bellini

Italian composers could not altogether escape Romanticism, and they made no attempt to forego the Italian love for delicious and sensuous lyricism. But the qualities that by comparison to the vigor of the northern composers seem almost cloyingly sweet made the works of men like Donizetti and Bellini popular. Paris and London accepted their operas with open arms, to the dismay of the more revolutionary romanticists. That Bellini's *La sonnambula* (1831) and *Norma* (1831) and Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia* (1833) and *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) still remain in the standard operatic repertoire is proof of their inherent vitality.

Summary

We have seen that the musical principles fundamental to Romanticism appeared first, with a degree of clarity, in the instrumental music of Beethoven, but that before Beethoven's death in 1827 the opera had become the international vehicle for romantic expression.

While opera seemed to be the art form best fitted to the exposition of the newly understood powers of music, it must not be forgotten that the general direction of musical development was away from opera and toward instrumental music and its related forms. Thus the successors of the instrumental traditions of the classicists must occupy a large part of the composite picture of the nineteenth century. The artistic principles and methods of the great Viennese School continued to spread and expand. In that growth new forms were conceived and great composers appeared. With early romantic opera the Romantic Movement had just begun.

But before we enter a discussion of the remarkable growth of virtuosity, musical forms, and literature which accompanied the maturing of Romanticism, we must turn to another contemporary of Beethoven and Weber who, as one of the greatest geniuses the art has known, more or less unconsciously contributed a direction to his successors: Franz Schubert.

Readings

Edwin B. Hill
Arthur Ware Locke

Arthur Hervey
J. P. Simpson
Julius Benedict
W. F. Apthorp
R. A. Streatfeild
Arthur Elson
Louis Spohr
D. G. Mason

Modern French Music
Music and the Romantic Movement in France
French Music in the XIXth Century
Life of Carl Maria von Weber
Weber
The Opera Past and Present
The Opera
A Critical History of Opera
Autobiography
The Romantic Composers

Frederick Crowest

*The Great Tone Poets**Cherubini*

H. S. Edwards

*The Life of Rossini**Rossini and His School*

George Hogarth

Memoirs of the Music Drama

Henri de Curzon

Meyerbeer

Michel Brenet

Grétry: Sa Vie et Ses Œuvres

Julius Kapp

Carl Maria von Weber

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SCHUBERT AND THE ART SONG

Schubert

FRANZ PETER SCHUBERT (1797-1828) was the son of a school teacher in one of the suburbs of Vienna. His extraordinary musical talent received its earliest cultivation from his father who taught him to play the violin. As a boy he became a member of the choir of the court chapel and a student at the choir school, where he had lessons from Salieri. But he learned music as a mother tongue, and his teachers had very little to do but to guide his genius. When his voice changed and he was consequently of no more value as a choir boy, he prepared himself to follow his father's profession. For three years he taught in the elementary school in the suburb where he was born. But that three years convinced him that he must devote himself entirely to music. In 1817 he gave up teaching and attempted to earn his living as a musician. But like Mozart and Beethoven, Schubert never succeeded in obtaining one of the posts that might have made him secure. He lived, with the help of his friends, a precarious but characteristically Viennese existence. With the exception of a few summer excursions he remained constantly in Vienna, where he died in 1828, two years after Weber, and one year after Beethoven.

Schubert left an almost unbelievable amount of music, much of it in manuscript. He was timid and easily rebuffed; if a new work failed to please, he put it away, but he continued to write. Because his genius was uncritical and not subjected to the discipline which Beethoven applied to himself, much of what he wrote was uneven, perhaps at times uninteresting; but scattered among much music of lesser value were works which have continued to hold a place of increasing importance in musical literature for more than a hundred years.

Although Schubert was always ambitious to become recognized as a composer of operas, he was never quite successful with that form. None of his music for the stage, except such incidental music as that for *Rosamunde*, is important. The implications of the new operatic idealism made good librettos increasingly necessary, and Schubert was never able to secure a drama of proper significance. His lack of critical sense, and the power of musical suggestion which words exerted on him, allowed him to compose operas which were foredoomed to failure because of their dramatic weaknesses.

Schubert's Instrumental Music

In considering Schubert as a composer of instrumental music it must be remembered that he lived in the Viennese musical atmosphere that was overshadowed by Beethoven. Schubert's timidity and Beethoven's gruffness prevented any close acquaintance between the two composers; nevertheless Schubert felt Beethoven's influence. He was at first inclined to the opinion that some aspects of Beethoven's methods, such as the rapid changes from one key to another and the sharp contrasts of mood, were bizarre. But as his grasp of instrumental style matured, he found that many of Beethoven's innovations were inevitable. He accepted Beethoven's substitution of scherzo for minuet, adopted, although not always with equal success, the older master's extended sonata-form plan, and interested himself in the subtleties of Beethoven's harmonic devices. Schubert's use of the orchestra, as evidenced particularly in the great C major and B minor ("Unfinished") symphonies,

shows the strong influence of Beethoven. Schubert failed to comprehend, however, the fundamental processes which, with Beethoven, exerted such a profound structural influence. He did grasp the important fact that through Beethoven's music a great genius *spoke*. That instinctive understanding, combined with his own overpowering genius, proved to be a combination that, in spite of unevenness, produced immortal works. No complete catalogue of Schubert's instrumental works need be given here. The piano sonatas in A minor and B-flat major are musical poetry of great beauty; they show the willingness of the romanticist to continue to use the classical form. The Fantasia in C, on the other hand, is an early and brilliant example of the characteristically romantic desire to condense the sonata into a single connected movement. The smaller piano works, like the impromptus and moments musicales, are also characteristic of the romanticist's approach to the problem of musical form. Form is there, and in the case of Schubert, naïvely visible, but the great interest is in the lyric beauty of the subject matter. In the field of chamber music Schubert achieved some great masterpieces, among which must be mentioned the piano trio in B-flat, string quintet in C major, and the string quartet in D minor, "Death and the Maiden," so called because the second movement is a set of variations on Schubert's song by that name.¹ It is doubtful if Schubert ever heard a performance of his two great symphonies. The C major was brought to light in 1838 by Robert Schumann, and the B minor did not receive its first performance until 1865. Both have become an indispensable part of symphonic literature. Schubert's instrumental music is music which, when it is successful, is the distilled essence of romantic expression; tender or gay, vigorous or sentimental, it is the music of a man whose very thought came to utterance only in sound. It was fortunate for a genius like Schubert that he lived at the precise period when artistic convention had ceased to exert a tyranny like that which circumscribed the talents of early eighteenth-century operatic composers.

Schubert's instrumental music, great and interesting though it is, furnishes only a minor part of the foundation upon which his

¹ For a complete analysis of this movement, see the author's *Hearing Music*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1941.

contribution to musical development and literature rests. Neither his peculiar genius nor his place in the Romantic Movement can be completely understood except in relation to his position as a composer of songs.

Song

The growth of songs and song forms before 1800 had been closely connected with larger forms in which song played a part, such as Mass, oratorio, and opera. The song as a separate unit had always existed, either as a folk song or in such composed forms as the lute song of the Medieval and Renaissance periods or the cantata and ballad of the operatic period. But before 1800 such songs, together with the aria, missed several elements which served to make the song of the romantic period a new creation. They were written around poems or verses which were largely of narrative or ballad character; they were conceived either as vocal show pieces or simply as tunes to which almost any words could be sung; and they were composed by men who only exceptionally used music as a means of personal expression.

Truth of Declamation

The problem of setting words to music had for two centuries been inherent in the phrase "truth of declamation." The solution had consisted in so treating the words musically—rhythmically and melodically—that the *meaning of the words* would be clear. That manner received its best exposition in the operatic songs of Gluck, who was theoretically willing to reduce the music to such a subordinate position that the words could speak for themselves. Gluck represented one side of the classical ideal of song. On the other side, represented by the composers who wished to maintain a formal musical structure at the expense of the text, Charles Burney might well be quoted: "A song [i.e., poem] for music should consist only of one *subject* or *passion*, expressed in as *few* and as *soft words* as possible. Since the [modern] refinement of melody, and the exclusion of recitative, a song, which usually

recapitulates, illustrates, or closes a scene is not the place for epigrammatic points, or for a number of heterogeneous thoughts and clashing metaphors; if the writer has the least pity for the composer, or love for music, or wishes to afford the least opportunity for symmetry in the air, in his song, I say again, the thought should be *one*, and the expression as easy and laconic as possible. . . .”² To emphasize either text at the expense of music or music at the expense of text was the dilemma with which the eighteenth-century composer was faced; his best solution was to take refuge in “truth of declamation” and write the best tune he could. Attempts at musical expression were made—composers did not suddenly become aware of that power of music at the beginning of the romantic period, as witness Monteverde, Purcell, Bach, and many others—but such attempts were largely the result of intuition or the accidental synchronization of musical style and textual idea.

The Art Song

The composer of the new style of romantic song did not dispense with truth of declamation; with the wealth of lyric poetry from the hands of the romantic poets and the better understanding of the expressive capacity inherent in musical materials, he created a new form, the art song, in which neither the text nor the music had a separate existence. The lyric-romantic quality of the poem is mirrored, in this new form, by a musical quality of the same or a complementary or supplementary mood. No arbitrary attempt is made to carry out a preconceived musical plan; the music obeys its own laws only to achieve a psychological unity with the poem. To all of the older song forms the romantic composer brought the idea of the psychological affinity of text and music, and in so doing he created a new ideal of song which could occur only as a phenomenon of romanticism in both poetry and music.

It is characteristic of the art song that each individual song develops and prescribes its own musical treatment. No conven-

² Charles Burney, *Present State of Music in France and Italy*, pp. 47-48.

tion, such as grew up around the operatic aria, could exist. Consequently it is futile to speak of a "musical form" for the art song as a structural shape that can be subtracted from its materials and viewed as an abstraction. The form of the art song is a method of treatment through which each song makes its own formal laws. In this aspect of the art song is to be discovered another ingredient of Romanticism: the willingness and necessity not to dispense with musical form but to *create a new form to meet the expressive necessity of each new work*. The "through-composed" song was a direct result of this aspect of Romanticism. It is important to point out, however, that all art songs are not necessarily "through-composed." Some of the older song types such as the ballad and that strophic song took on the stature of art songs at the hands of the romantic composers.

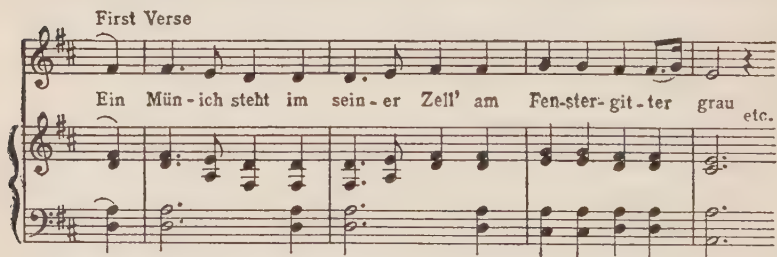
The Song Cycle

The song cycle is an interesting and characteristic outgrowth of the romantic song. It was undoubtedly suggested to composers by the cycles of lyric poems written by the romantic poets. Realizing that the long narrative poem was not an ideal vehicle for romantic expression, poets conceived the idea of connecting a series of rather short lyric poems by a narrative thread. Each individual poem had for its purpose the exposition of a definite lyric mood: the sum of the moods thus presented was narrative in effect. Beethoven had, in his cycle *An die ferne Geliebte*, bound his songs together by transferring musical materials. Schubert's method was more subtle; he made them belong together by a delicate shaping of musically expressed mood not dependent upon reappearing melodies but upon consistency of psychological substructure. Schubert's settings of Wilhelm Müller's cycles *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise* contain many of his loveliest songs, but in each case the intention was to have each set considered as a unified work. *Schwanengesang*, although not a cycle in the strictest sense of the word, because it was put together after Schubert's death by his publisher, contains some of his most magnificent songs.

Schubert's Songs

Here again no analysis is a substitute for the actual musical experience which Schubert's songs have to offer. The charm and wealth of melody, the often folklike character of rhythm, and the remarkable instinct for harmonic poignancy are immediately effective. The unity of voice and piano, the intimacy of thought and feeling, produce here a chamber music of the highest type. But aside from these rather obvious qualities, the student will gain insight into the very heart of the early Romantic Movement if he asks himself why Schubert (as with Beethoven in a former chapter) chose exactly the material he did in setting each song. In some cases the answer is not far to seek: Schubert was great enough in artistic simplicity to realize in a song like "Wohin?", the second of *Die schöne Müllerin*, that the imitated motion of a brook would serve to create just the uncertain and slightly excited mood of the poem; and again in "Der Kreuzzug" that, in the second verse, the simple device of having words sung to the bass instead of to the melody would express better than anything else the mood of the monk who stayed at home in his cell while his no braver companions set forth on their brilliant crusade.

First Verse



Ein Mün-ich steht im sein-er Zell' am Fen-ster- git-ter grau etc.

Second Verse



Der Mün-ich steht am Fen-ster noch, schaut ih-nen nach hin - aus etc.

By citing this song as an example there is no intention of conveying the impression that it is one of Schubert's greatest songs—many others are more popular and moving—but it does serve to illustrate that an *expressive purpose* was ever present in Schubert's mind.

The song, like the opera, could no longer remain an objective medium for displaying a text. Through the alchemy of Schubert's genius, which was in turn sensitive to the impact of romantic poetic and musical ideals, the song became one of the choicest expressions of the new spirit.

The First Effects of Romanticism

By 1830 the first great prophets of Romanticism had finished their work. Beethoven in instrumental music, Weber in opera, and Schubert in song—all three had left the stage to a younger generation. The various directions in which composers would be urged by their enthusiasm for the new artistic possibilities would lead not only to remarkable extensions of the valid functions of music, but to exoticisms beyond the imaginations of the first-generation romanticists. It will be of service, as we examine a hundred years filled with experiments still too new to be completely evaluated, to remember that *the fundamental driving force which finally produced musical romanticism was the psychological connection between musical materials and the human nervous system*. Monteverde and the members of the *Camerata* had studied the Greeks in their curiosity about it. Every well-defined historic musical style, from the plain song to Mozart, had been able to represent some one facet of it. But with the hope that musical art could develop a style which, consciously molded by a single composer, could run the whole gamut of human emotion, the romanticist had sufficient ground for experimentation. And with a new freedom to *feel*, the musician of the nineteenth century felt that a justice, and even a dignity, would support the wildest emotional orgy. By 1830 Romanticism had already immeasurably enriched musical literature.

Readings

Karl Kobald
Newman Flower

E. Duncan
Oscar Bie
Richard Capell
A. B. Bach
D. G. Mason
H. J. Finck
Louis C. Elson
Felix Weingartner
Hermann Kretzschmar

Franz Schubert and His Times
Franz Schubert: The Man and His Circle
Schubert
Schubert: the Man
Schubert's Songs
Loewe and Schubert
The Romantic Composers
Songs and Song Writers
The History of German Song
The Symphony Since Beethoven
Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes

30

MENDELSSOHN, SCHUMANN,
AND CHOPIN

Nineteenth-century Trends

ROMANTICISM had been gathering strength gradually. First clearly evident in the early years of the nineteenth century in the instrumental music of Beethoven, the songs of Schubert, and the works of the early romantic opera composers, it became, for the generation of composers born in the first dozen years of the century, the dominating trend. A list of the "giants" born in those years will indicate that the supreme element of Romanticism as a dominating trend was the individual artistic freedom with which it endowed each composer:

Berlioz	1803-1869
Mendelssohn	1809-1847

Schumann	1810-1856
Chopin	1810-1849
Liszt	1811-1886
Wagner	1813-1883
Verdi	1813-1901

Trends throughout the nineteenth century are important because they give clues by which a clearer understanding of individuals may be obtained. The tendency to write about music—to examine philosophically the purpose and function of music, and to evaluate critically single compositions in the light of abstract generalizations—was constantly increasing. Educational centers from which emanated the unity of musical thought fundamental to the formation of schools of composition were becoming more numerous. Composers and public alike were being bombarded by journalistic criticism. All the evidence of an increasing sensitiveness to what seemed to be an evolutionary direction must not, however, blind the student to the fact that during the nineteenth century, of all periods in musical development, individuals are important. The generation of musicians already listed was formed in the matrix of its own age, but the implications in the work of many of their immediate predecessors were not fully nor immediately clear to them. They were just making the acquaintance of Bach; the full stature of Beethoven and Schubert was not yet fully evident.

Lyricism

Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Chopin, whose names stand at the head of the present chapter, were, as composers, as diverse as three men living at the same time could be. They were all romanticists, but revolutionary to a widely varying extent. The paths by which they reached eminence were divergent. Their temperaments and racial characteristics had little in common. Their one common attribute, uniting them in a continuation of trends already present in Romanticism, was an intense lyricism. Whatever medium they used, and they were all three instrumentalists, their music *sings* in a way possible only in the nineteenth century.

Mendelssohn

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy was, like Meyerbeer, the son of a wealthy and cultured Berlin banker. He was born in 1809 at Hamburg and died in 1847 at Leipzig. As a youth he had every educational advantage that a city like Berlin could offer. His instruction in music was superlative: he mastered the piano sufficiently to appear in public at the age of nine; he was an accomplished violinist; his early compositions furnished a large part of the program at the musical evenings at the Mendelssohn home. These Sunday-evening concerts became one of the central attractions of Berlin musical life. They were not only of inestimable value to the youthful composer as opportunities to hear performances of his own works, but they attracted musicians from all over Europe who constantly visited Berlin.

Before Mendelssohn reached the age of sixteen he had a wide acquaintance among the intellectual and artistic leaders of Europe. He knew Spontini in Berlin. Cherubini, whom he had met in Paris, wanted him as a pupil. He had been a guest at Goethe's home in Weimar. He knew and greatly admired Weber. Ignace Moscheles, an admirer, friend and pupil of Beethoven, and one of the leading pianists of the time, was a welcome visitor in the Mendelssohn home. At the age of seventeen he had composed the overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1826), a work which demonstrated that he had not only attained a complete mastery over his materials, but also that he was already a mature and original composer.

Mendelssohn's Popularity: Early Works

Between 1827 and 1835 Mendelssohn's activity took him from city to city on the Continent and in England. In 1829 he conducted the first performance, after Bach's death, of the great *St. Matthew's Passion*. During the same year he spent some time in England, where the performance of his C minor symphony, and the *Midsummer Night's Dream* overture laid the foundation for his international fame as a composer. Known as pianist,

conductor, and composer, he was in constant demand throughout Europe. This period saw the production of many important works, among which were the first volume of the *Songs without Words*, the "Hebrides" overture, the "Italian" and the "Reformation" symphonies, the G minor concerto for piano, and much chamber music.

Leipzig: Later Works

In 1835 he began the connection with Leipzig which was to be so fruitful for the musical life of that city throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century. As director of the famous "Gewandhaus" concerts, and founder of the conservatory, he established a tradition for excellency in both performance and education that has made Leipzig the Mecca for students from all over the world. His activity as artist and organizer took much of his energy; nevertheless he produced, during the Leipzig years, many of the works upon which his great popularity rested. Chief among these must be listed the "Scotch" symphony, the violin concerto, and the two oratorios, *St. Paul* and *Elijah*.

Mendelssohn's Style

The fact that Mendelssohn attained an immense popularity during his rather short lifetime has furnished later critics with an excuse for belittling his importance. It has been pointed out that no appreciable personal development is visible in Mendelssohn's music; that the sixteen years which passed between the composition of the overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the completion of the incidental music to the drama were not marked by the stylistic evolution that is an inevitable accompaniment of growth. Mendelssohn's style was fundamentally lyric. That was a quality which needed, in his case, no cultivation. His problem, solved while he was still a youth, was simply to master the technic necessary to a satisfactory musical embodiment of his lyricism. He escaped the struggle for musical expression, commonly expected from romantic composers. He achieved a clarity

and logic in the handling of materials that revived, in the midst of early Romanticism, an admiration for some of the formal qualities of the classicists. Lacking, perhaps, sufficient penetration to grasp the idea of a psychological unity as a basis for form, his instinct led him back to the fundamental objective qualities out of which formal structure had evolved. But no reversal of the tendencies of musical evolution was intended. That Mendelssohn was a romanticist needs scarcely more proof than his lyricism. But with that lyricism he combined another musical possibility which is characteristic of Romanticism. By referring his music, through definite titles, to scenes or events which carried descriptive connotations, he entered the field of program music.

Program Music

The term "program music," to which the expressions "tone poem" and "symphonic poem" are closely related, is the name given to a type of music, which, although its history extends far into the past, was not clearly differentiated from other types until the advances and changes of the nineteenth century made such a differentiation indispensable. Program music depends in part for the effect it makes on the hearer upon some nonmusical method of imaginative suggestion which is called the *program*. The program may vary from a title or motto to a highly complex verbal description.

For purposes of discussion three sorts of program music may be defined: first, music in which the program has been superimposed on a conventional musical form without in any way changing its structure; second, music in which the program has led to a new musical form which, however unconventional, is nevertheless understandable as a tonal structure apart from its program; third, compositions in which the musical structure is a puzzle, the only key to which is furnished by the program.

Program music of the first type was not a distinct outgrowth of the Romantic Movement; it has been noticed in the madrigalism and the descriptive keyboard music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it continued through the eighteenth

century and into the nineteenth as one of the important devices not only of opera and oratorio composers but even of an instrumentalist like Beethoven. The point at which program music became a romantic product coincided with the change from the first to the second type, and it was here that some of the works of Mendelssohn had a contributing influence. In the history of program music the "Scotch" and "Italian" symphonies, and more especially the "Hebrides" (*Fingal's Cave*) overture and the incidental music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, represent a stage in which forms are perfectly clear, but in which the tendency to allow the program suggested by the title to influence the form is evident. Mendelssohn was not alone, nor was he the first, in attacking the problem of program music. But he was characteristically a romanticist in that it was a problem for him, and in that much of his music was conceived according to a program hinted in the title. He was not a revolutionary, and in consequence his music seems to have been conceived apart from the white heat in which new forms and methods were being fused. In one case only did Mendelssohn give music a new conception. The scherzo, which had replaced the minuet as one of the middle movements in the sonata and symphony, became with Mendelssohn a new and hitherto unknown kind of music. His scherzos must be allowed to speak for themselves; the delicate musical tracery which he weaves in them—the scherzo from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* music is characteristic—was and is still a revelation.

Schumann

Robert Schumann, the son of an author and book dealer, was born at Zwickau in Saxony in 1810. Because he was intended for the law, his early musical training was irregular. Nevertheless, the impressions he received from acquaintance with the writings of the literary romanticists were so strong that when he went to the University of Leipzig in 1828 he almost immediately became a member of a literary and artistic circle. At Leipzig he became a pupil of Friedrich Wieck, devoting himself with considerable zeal to the mastery of the piano. After a year at Heidel-

berg he returned in 1830 to Leipzig, with his mother's permission to devote himself entirely to music. His ambition to become a great pianist was wrecked by an injury to his hand which resulted from a mechanical device he had invented to develop finger independence. With the road to virtuosity closed, Schumann determined to devote himself to composition.

Schumann as a Romanticist

Because Schumann as a composer was one of the thoughtful leaders of conscious Romanticism during the second quarter of the nineteenth century it is necessary to examine his artistic background. Although Schumann's youthful home was the scene of much music making, its dominating atmosphere was literary. Schumann's favorites were the romanticists: Byron, Schiller, Jean Paul Richter. Later he knew and admired Heine. The impressions which continued to affect him were increasingly in keeping with the spirit of the times. Finally, in 1834, a group of the "modernists" of which Schumann was the leader founded a musical journal, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, as an organ which would be devoted to artistic progress. For ten years he edited this magazine and was at the same time the chief contributor of articles to its pages.

Schumann's aim as a music critic was to act as sympathetic interpreter. But as prophet for the new music he was indefatigable in his scorn for conservatism. In order to develop different points of view he invented the *Davidsbund*, an imaginary brotherhood of young Davidites whose single purpose was to slay, in animated discussion, the reactionary Philistines. With fine artistic penetration and consummate literary skill Schumann and his collaborators laid an aesthetic foundation for musical Romanticism that carried on and consolidated the ideals of a great artistic movement. Schumann would have deserved a place in the history of his art had he never composed a bar of music.

In 1835 the musical life of Leipzig was enriched by the arrival of Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn's prestige and Schumann's literary activity made the city a remarkable musical center. Ferdinand

David, the violinist; Ignace Moscheles, the pianist; William Sterndale Bennett, the English composer; Niels Gade; Ferdinand Hiller; Franz Liszt; Richard Wagner—all these contributed to the environment in which Schumann was gradually emerging as a composer. Most important of all, however, was Clara Wieck, the daughter of Schumann's piano teacher, who was herself one of the great pianists of the period. She played Schumann's compositions as a girl; as a woman she became his wife and most enthusiastic protagonist.

The formative influences to which Schumann owed much are not complete without mention of Bach. His admiration for the former cantor of the Thomas church found almost constant expression in his writing: "The thoughtful combinations, the poetry and humor of our modern music, can all be traced to Bach. All the romantic composers approach Bach far more nearly than Mozart ever did: all of them know him more thoroughly, and I myself confess my sins daily to that mighty one, and endeavor to strengthen and refine myself through him . . . he is unfathomable."

The years 1845-1850 Schumann spent at Dresden, where Ferdinand Hiller and Richard Wagner had made their homes. In 1850 he was offered a directorship at Düsseldorf, and although he was never a very effective conductor, he made Düsseldorf his home until his tragic death, a victim of insanity, in 1856.

Schumann's Music

Schumann, who worked with remarkable rapidity, attempted almost every current musical form. His shortcomings are perhaps more evident than those of any other great composer. They are the result of his Romanticism and the faults of his early training. But despite the fact that nearly every work not written for piano has the fault of being conceived pianistically, and taking into consideration that he was much more at home with small forms than with large, Schumann's music stands as the inspired work of a man of great genius. He often expressed the hope that a worthy successor to Weber in the field of German opera would arise. His own opera, *Genoveva*, was not successful,

and because of differences in temperament he failed to recognize Wagner at his true worth. (Schumann was not alone in that failure.) The four symphonies, magnificent in musical conception, were so badly scored for orchestra that they are always a severe trial to conductors. His overtures suffer from the same failure to comprehend orchestral tonal values and possibilities. The piano concerto, on the other hand, written for his wife, is one of the masterpieces in that form. Its warmth and lyricism make it one of the monuments of the Romantic Movement. In like manner the chamber music, particularly those works in which the piano plays a part, has become an indispensable part of that literature. The increase in importance of the piano in such combinations, which was characteristic of the nineteenth century, is evident in Schumann's music.

Schumann's true genius as composer and contributor to the direction of Romanticism is to be found in his piano music and in his songs. His writing for the piano demonstrates to a remarkable degree what his writing for orchestra lacked, a fine sense of instrumental color. Instrumental color had been recognized before the nineteenth century, but it remained for the romanticist to add it to rhythm, melody, and harmony as one of music's basic resources. Schumann was here an adventurous explorer.

The list of Schumann's music for the piano is long, but the importance of the music and the musical history to be inferred from the titles warrant its inclusion here.

Opus 1	"Abegg" variations
Opus 2	Papillons (twelve short pieces)
Opus 3	Studies after caprices by Paganini
Opus 4	Two books of intermezzos
Opus 5	Impromptus (variations on a theme by Clara Wieck)
Opus 6	Dauidsbündlertänze (eighteen pieces)
Opus 7	Toccata
Opus 8	Allegro
Opus 9	Carnaval (twenty-one pieces)
Opus 10	Second set of studies after caprices by Paganini
Opus 11	Sonata in F-sharp minor
Opus 12	Fantasiestücke (two books)
Opus 13	Etudes symphoniques
Opus 14	Sonata in F minor

Opus 15	Kinderscenen (thirteen pieces)
Opus 16	Kreisleriana (eight pieces)
Opus 17	Fantasia
Opus 18	Arabeske
Opus 19	Blumenstück
Opus 20	Humoreske
Opus 21	Four books of Novelletten
Opus 22	Sonata in G minor
Opus 23	Nachtstücke
Opus 26	Faschingsschwank aus Wien
Opus 28	Three romances
Opus 32	Album for the Young (forty pieces)
Opus 72	Four fugues
Opus 76	Four marches
Opus 82	Waldscenen (nine pieces)
Opus 99	Bunte Blätter (fourteen pieces)
Opus 111	Three Fantasiestücke
Opus 118	Three sonatas for the young
Opus 124	Album leaves (twenty pieces)
Opus 126	Seven pieces in fughetta form
Opus 133	Morning songs (five pieces)

The music which this list represents is of paramount importance because, more than any verbal explanation, it defines the Romantic Movement, the course of which can, to a certain degree, be gathered from the very titles represented. Schumann was peculiarly contradictory when he discussed the titles which he gave to his music. Because he was convinced that music was an ideal medium for the expression of emotions he instinctively felt that no realistic titles were necessary. But the literary and musical creative processes were so inseparably linked in his genius that literary ideas suggested musical ideas; consequently he was thus led to give titles to his musical compositions. But Schumann was the first to deny that those titles should indicate that the music was constructed on the basis of a realistic program. Schumann's fundamental belief was that music was entirely capable, as a language of emotion, of speaking for itself without the aid of any extramusical devices.

Opus 1, the "Abegg" variations belongs to the year 1829, which places it in the ten years between 1825 and 1835 which saw the death of Weber, Beethoven, and Schubert, and the production of an almost endless amount of remarkably important roman-

tic music: Beethoven's last quartets, Mendelssohn's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* overture, Auber's *Masaniello*, Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*, Bellini's *La Sonnambula* and *Norma*, Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, etc. Beethoven's great piano works were sonatas; in this list the overwhelming majority of works are no longer in that form. As a structure the sonata was suited neither to the ideals nor to the talents of the romanticists.

The moods and fancies of Schumann, which represented a new element in serious musical expression, did not lend themselves to extended treatment. He was a composer of epigrams rather than of essays. To extend an epigram into an essay or a treatise was often beyond his powers. The Romantic Movement would eventually develop a technic which could compass a larger structure, but not until men like Schumann had experimented with the power of the expanding musical materials. That Schumann was an experimenter, that he felt himself to be an explorer in an untried realm, is sufficiently clear from his music. His short pieces such as the *Davidsbündlertänze*, the *Carnaval*, and the *Kreisleriana* (notice the allusion to E. T. A. Hoffmann) represent his most characteristic expression, but he was not completely satisfied in thus throwing off all of the bonds of convention; he turned time and again to the formal structures of his predecessors. It was characteristic of his approach that his use of the conventional forms was often highly unconventional, and (of even more importance) that his tendency in selecting a formal model was to follow the unconventional experiments of his predecessors. Thus, in the second and fourth symphonies, he sought for formal and expressive unity by transferring subject matter from one movement to another in a manner which anticipated methods of later symphonists. The *Fantasia*, opus 17, shows the effect of piano music of like name by Schubert. Schubert's fantasias served less as a model than as a suggestion of procedure, however, and Schumann's music pointed toward the free forms of the future rather than toward those of the past.

The force of Schumann's innovations, particularly in the fields of piano and chamber music, was intensified by the circumstance of Brahms' intense admiration. Consequently many of Schumann's works—for instance the violin and piano sonatas as ex-

amples from the chamber music—can be spoken of with some truth as forerunners of similar works of Brahms. The danger of speaking of one art work as a forerunner of another is that such a conception, which can in any case be only partially valid, tends to diminish the value of the earlier work. Some of Schumann's music—for instance the violin sonatas in question—have suffered from a relationship which makes such unjust comparisons inevitable.

The Songs

One other aspect of Schumann's work remains to be discussed: his songs. Until 1840 Schumann had made no serious study of the voice. But owing to two reasons—first, because he had spent part of 1839 in Vienna, where he had gained an enthusiasm for Schubert's songs, and second, because his marriage with Clara Wieck, so long and so cruelly postponed, was at last approaching consummation—the year 1840 became what Schumann himself called his “year of song.”

The more than one hundred songs which Schumann wrote during this one year give abundant proof of his fine sensitiveness to literary and poetic impressions. Schumann was undoubtedly influenced by Schubert; his work must be looked upon as a continuation of the art song which Schubert originated. But he was guilty of no servile imitation of the methods of his predecessor. The spontaneity of his songs had only one source—his own genius. The earliest songs are somewhat tentative, at least as far as Schumann's final method is concerned, in that the accompaniment is simple and remains in the background. But gradually he strikes a balance between voice and piano in which both parts are of genuine importance. The result might be called a duet for piano and voice. The vocal parts, which with Schumann never acquired the pure vocal quality instinctive with Schubert, are imbedded in an accompaniment which has the pianistic quality of Schumann's best piano music. Schumann continued to write songs from his “golden” year until near his death. He can be seen at his best in the two cycles, *Frauenliebe und Leben*, opus 42, to

poems by Chamisso, and *Dichterliebe*, opus 48, to poems by Heine. The student of Schumann should not, however, limit his acquaintance to the songs of two cycles; every Schumann song well repays intimacy. After Schubert and Schumann the art song was destined to attract the serious attention of almost every nineteenth-century composer.

Mendelssohn and Schumann

A comparison of Mendelssohn and Schumann is obvious when it is made in terms of audible music. Mendelssohn, although he could not escape the romantic implications of his time, was strongly influenced by the classical tradition. His complete mastery of artistic technic, together with his highly cultivated, easy, and graceful personality, made him less subject to emotionalized outpourings than a man like Schumann. Schumann, on the other hand, was at first a dilettante, of great genius it must be granted, whose first interest in art was literary. His temperament and background gave him an immense enthusiasm for Romanticism as an artistic ideal; in order to accomplish that ideal he learned as much musical technic as he could. Although he worked rapidly and with great inspiration—or rather because of that rapidity—his work seldom achieved the symmetry and polish of Mendelssohn's. That lack was compensated by the gravity and truth with which he used music as an idealized emotional language.

Chopin

Frédéric François Chopin was born in a small Polish town near Warsaw in 1810. His father was French, a teacher of the French language, and his mother was Polish. Chopin received all of his musical education in Warsaw. He appeared in public first as a wonder-child pianist at the age of nine; by 1829 his playing had captured the imagination of audiences not only in Warsaw but also in Vienna and Berlin. At the age of twenty he had begun to compose, and when he arrived in Paris in 1830, he appeared not only as a performer but also as a composer. Paris had, normally,

a sympathy for Poland and particularly for an artistic representative of that country. Parisian musicians, too, were undergoing the birth pains of their own romantic revolution, and although Chopin was not temperamentally a revolutionist, he brought with him an individual romanticism that had the effect of being revolutionary. In the Paris of Berlioz, Liszt, Heine, Balzac, and Meyerbeer, Chopin was received with open arms. Paris was Chopin's home for the rest of his short life. He gave few public concerts, but his services as a teacher were in great demand. He devoted himself to teaching and to composing for his own instrument. The last few years of his life were darkened by the specter of consumption; after his return from a strenuous trip to England and Scotland, the illness progressed so rapidly that he died in 1849.

The Sources of Chopin's Style

Although Chopin composed chiefly for the piano, and despite the fact that his life was brief, he was one of the most important contributors to the stream which was nineteenth-century Romanticism. The source of the many elements of Chopin's style are difficult to trace; however, because of his immense influence, some information concerning his background is necessary. Chopin's teachers, Adalbert Zywny for piano and Joseph Elsner for composition, unknown in any other connection, were evidently firmly grounded in the classic tradition. The music of Bach and Mozart was familiar to Chopin; he had a lifelong admiration for Mozart but found little in Beethoven to attract him. John Field (1782-1837), the Irish musician whose productive life was spent at the Russian court and who has been called the inventor of the "nocturne," undoubtedly served in some ways as a model to Chopin. The influence of Polish folk music was strong and is particularly evident in his use of the characteristic rhythms of polonaise and mazurka. The cosmopolitan musical life of Paris (only one of the names listed above is that of a Frenchman) undoubtedly influenced Chopin. But all these diverse tendencies were transformed by Chopin's genius into a style which was essentially Chopin himself: a man who was endowed with a startling pianistic

color sense; an introspective romantic—sometimes bordering on the oversentimental and feminine, tinged often with melancholy, but with a clarity of purpose that proclaims its own vigor. To Chopin, Art—and in the later years that meant only his own art—was not only the center but the whole of his existence.

Chopin's Music

Chopin's works are responsible, to a greater extent than the works of any other composer, for the spread in popularity not only of the piano but also of the whole art of music during the last century. Although Chopin did very little concertizing himself, the public concert as an institution has thrived on his music. Musicians and concertgoers are familiar with the *étude*, the *prelude*, the *nocturne*, the *ballade*, the *impromptu*, the *mazurka*, the *valse*, the *polonaise*, the *schерzo*, and even the *sonata*, quite largely through Chopin's works bearing those titles. Consequently a catalogue of Chopin's works is an important fact in the history of music. Because Chopin's music is usually published in volumes which contain all his works of a given type, the list will be presented here in like manner:

- Three sonatas, opera 4, 35, 58
- Twenty-five preludes, opera 28, 45
- Two concertos, opera 11, 21
- Fantasia, opus 49
- Four scherzos, opera 20, 31, 39, 54
- Twenty-four *études*, opera 10, 25
- Four ballads, opera 23, 38, 47, 52
- Four *impromptus*, opera 29, 36, 51, 66
- Twenty-two nocturnes, opera 9, 15, 26, 27, 32, 37, 48, 55, 62, 72
- Three rondos, opera 1, 5, 16
- Bolero, opus 19
- Krakowiak, opus 14
- Tarantella, opus 43
- Thirteen waltzes, opera 18, 34, 42, 64, 69, 70
- Eleven polonaises, opera 22, 26, 40, 44, 53, 61, 71
- Forty-nine mazurkas, opera 6, 7, 17, 24, 30, 33, 41, 50, 56, 59, 63, 67, 68

To this list may be added the seventeen Polish songs, opus 74, the sonata for piano and violoncello, opus 65, the trio for piano,

violin, and violoncello, opus 8, and a number of scattered works in other forms, some of which were not published until after Chopin's death.

Chopin stands alone among great composers in the fact that he used virtually only one medium, the piano. Part of his greatness is due to the fact that he, more than any other composer since Beethoven, extended the tonal and expressive possibilities of his instrument. His exploration of pianistic sonorities led him to the style of left-hand accompaniment which may be regarded as a development of the Alberti bass which has been previously mentioned. Illustrations might be cited at great length; the following may be found in its context in the "Nocturne," opus 27, number 2.



This technic, together with many other less tangible pianistic devices, all of which were the result of the fact that Chopin's musical imagination was inseparable from his instrument, enabled him to make the piano *sing* as no other composers, with the possible exceptions of Schumann and Schubert, had done.

Chopin's melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic imagination was so rich that he, like his contemporary Schumann, felt himself very little at home with the comparatively strict forms of his predecessors. Like Schumann, too, he turned to musical forms which allowed the greatest amount of freedom. Some of the forms cultivated by older romanticists, such as the nocturne of Field, and the impromptu and fantasia of Schubert, were adopted by Chopin. Far more characteristic, however, was his use of dance forms such as the waltz, the polonaise, and the mazurka. With him these forms became the vehicles for an intensely personal expression.

With Chopin, as with the other romanticists, the eighteenth-century canons of strict form were relaxed to the utmost. The

free play of his fancy was the first necessity for Chopin's musical composition. The ballads, for instance, are lyric poetry in tone, and it is altogether probable that had Chopin felt the necessity of pouring his inspiration into a preconceived mold, his imagination would have been severely handicapped. Because of his formal freedom Chopin achieved an artistry which avoided the pedantic and commonplace, if not always the sentimental, and an ability to express in tones a unified mood characterization which arose out of his own intense feeling. This was for him, as for all romanticists, a supreme goal: not so much freedom from older formal conventions as the mastery of free form which would be in the finest sense expressive.

Lesser Contemporaries

Lyric and idealistic Romanticism made many converts. Although Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Chopin stand out as most important, the period cannot be dismissed without some mention of the lesser men. Franz Lachner (1803-1890), musical director at Munich from 1836 to 1868, composed symphonies, suites for orchestra, chamber music, and operas. Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885) was long active at Cologne as composer, conductor, and writer. His important compositions included operas, oratorios, and much instrumental music. Stephen Heller (1813-1888) was the composer of piano music which has earned him the title "Young People's Chopin." Robert Volkmann (1815-1883) composed much instrumental music, including many works for the piano, and some important art songs. Robert Franz (1815-1892) was one of the most important art-song composers of the nineteenth century and the history of the art song cannot be written without mention of his contribution to its literature.

Music as an Ideal Language

With Chopin the phase of Romanticism which included Mendelssohn and Schumann reached its culmination. Because music was to these men an ideal language of emotion, they were

constantly searching for more poignantly expressive musical materials. An infinite variety of new devices—rhythmic figures, melodic shapes, harmonic combinations, and color effects—were sought and used, not alone for their value as vehicles for virtuosity nor primarily for their interest as materials out of which “sounding” structures could be raised, but because of their value toward the end of emotional expression. Musical materials were discovered, selected, and used for their psychological value.

But beside all this which was new, these three composers and their many followers retained wholly or in part that feeling for clarity of structure, if not for conventional forms, of the classicists. They retained, too, and emphasized according to their lights, the feeling that music is fundamentally a *sensual art*, and that beauty of thought and expression (which can never be measured by a static formula) is the standard by which works of musical art either stand or fall. They were idealists.

Readings

W. S. Rockstro	<i>Mendelssohn</i>
Stephen S. Stratton	<i>Mendelssohn</i>
Sebastian Hensel	<i>The Mendelssohn Family</i>
Ferdinand Hiller	<i>Mendelssohn</i>
Frederick Niecks	<i>Robert Schumann</i>
	<i>The Life of Chopin</i>
Herbert Bedford	<i>Robert Schumann, His Life and Works</i>
A. Reissmann	<i>Robert Schumann</i>
Annie W. Patterson	<i>Schumann</i>
J. A. Fuller-Maitland	<i>Schumann</i>
Eugénie Schumann	<i>The Schumanns and Johannes Brahms</i>
J. C. Haddon	<i>Chopin</i>
James Huneker	<i>Chopin: The Man and His Music</i>
Henry Bidou	<i>Chopin</i>
Herbert Westerby	<i>The History of Pianoforte Music</i>
Adam Carse	<i>The History of Orchestration</i>
W. H. Hadow	<i>Studies in Modern Music</i>
Walter Dahms	<i>Mendelssohn</i>

PROGRAM MUSIC: BERLIOZ AND LISZT

Individual Differences Between Composers

IT HAS always been characteristic of great artistic movements that the men who further them disagree in regard to methods and aims. In grouping such men together, in order to clarify their common qualities, there is always the danger that their individual differences will be passed over. Despite that danger, which can be obviated only by an acquaintance with *art works*, it is necessary to place creative artists in groups in order to make clear the trends which furnished their basic motivation. Thus Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Chopin have been discussed together, not because they were alike—their individual differences were enormous—but because they had in common one quality which separated them from their important contemporaries. To them music as a tonal art was an end in itself; they were anxious to investigate the psychological implications of *tones*, but only to the extent of being able more completely to realize their ideal of stylistic perfection. That ideal was a logic and unity of emotion expressed in a truthful tonal fabric.

Realism

The group we now approach—Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner—had much in common with their contemporary romanticists, and likewise differed individually; but they, too, belong together by reason of one outstanding fundamental quality in their ap-

proach to their art. They were not satisfied with the ideal concept which made the thought underlying a work secondary to the work itself. That method provided too intangible an expression for them. *They placed the thought to be expressed first*; it was the end to which their manipulation of the tonal art was only a means. They wished to "nail down," with a definiteness past miscomprehension, the expressive allusions of their music. *They were romantic realists.*

As has been sufficiently indicated, realism in music had long interested composers. We have seen it in the madrigalisms of the sixteenth century, and it is evident in the whole barnyard of imitated natural sounds of the French clavecin school. But unless he could produce them by means which were so new and surprising that they were no longer puerile, such effects did not interest the true romanticist. He was interested rather in a new kind of realism, that of expressed emotion. But the exact connection between tonally delineated mood and external cause must be left to the experience of the listener; music does not have the power of exact verbal description. To add that power to their art works, even by using some extramusical means, was the method of the romantic realists. For them music was to be the "hand-maiden" of definite emotional expression. To arrive at this end they had to develop new technics and forms which led them far past the program music of men like Mendelssohn to the tone poem and the music drama.

In Chapter 28 mention was made of the French composer Lesueur who advanced the thesis that the function of music was to accompany or illustrate a series of extramusical ideas. His pupil, Hector Berlioz (1803-1869), was temperamentally fitted to attempt seriously the fulfillment of this doctrine.

Berlioz: Early Works

Hector Berlioz was born in the village of Côte-St.-André, near Lyons, where his father was a country doctor. In his *Memoirs* he tells of his meager early musical education, limited to a few lessons on the guitar and flute. His father intended him for the medical profession, and his early education was to that end. At his arrival

in Paris, however, he discovered that medicine was impossible and, at the cost of being cut off from paternal support, devoted himself to music. From 1822 until 1830, when he was finally granted the *Prix de Rome*, he studied at the Paris *Conservatoire* and earned his living by doing musical tasks in Parisian theaters and writing musical criticism. Berlioz' compositions before 1830 include a Mass with orchestra ("St. Roche"), dramatic scenes based on *Faust* and Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and the remarkable *Symphonie fantastique*, subtitled *Episode de la vie d'un artiste*. His stay in Rome produced the overture *King Lear* and the symphonic poem (tone poem) *Lelio ou Le retour à la vie*, which was intended as a continuation of the *Symphonie fantastique*.

After his return to Paris, Berlioz' life was that of the impetuous romantic artist. Punctuated by concert trips and periods of intense creative activity, his efforts were largely devoted to the romantic musical ideals which he expressed constantly in his critical writing. Neither of his marriages, the first in 1833 to an Irish actress, Henrietta Simpson, and the second in 1855 to Mlle. Recio, a singer, was permanently happy. His loneliness and the longing for recognition, which came late and then as a result of his foreign triumphs, made him a tragic figure.

Later Works

Berlioz' mature works, all of them cast in large forms, were as follows: *Harold en Italie* (1834), a symphony with a solo viola part originally intended for Paganini; *Requiem* (1837), a Mass for the burial of General Damremont; *Benvenuto Cellini* (1838), a grand opera based on a character with whom Berlioz had much in common; *Romeo and Juliet* (1839), a symphony with solo voices and chorus; the *Symphonie funèbre et triomphale* (1840); the *Damnation of Faust*, a dramatic legend; the *Te deum* (1846), a monster work, for three choirs, orchestra, and organ; *L'enfance du Christ* (1852-1854), a Biblical trilogy; *Beatrice et Benedict* (1862), an *opéra comique*; *Les troyens* (1863), a grand opera; and finally *Troyens à Carthage* (1863), a lyric drama which was not produced until 1890.

Berlioz: a Revolutionary

By temperament a firebrand, his association with Lesueur, who had very little respect for musical tradition, made Berlioz a confirmed and, to his French contemporaries, a disliked revolutionary. His works gained hearings only with the greatest difficulty, and were seldom repeated. But Berlioz had an unquenchable enthusiasm that led him on, and the contributions of his pen, both as a composer and as a writer of criticism, were eventually epoch-making.

Berlioz' Orchestra

Despite the handicap of an unorthodox training, Berlioz must be considered as a great master of the technic of writing for the orchestra. He used the orchestra as it had never been used before, and his great textbook on orchestration has been a guide to composers ever since it was published.

The piano has often been called the instrument of the nineteenth century. It did attract composers to a remarkable degree, but the virtuosity which grew up around all musical instruments in the fifty years between 1775 and 1825 made the orchestra an instrument of extreme sensitivity which certainly shared with the piano a first place in the affections of musicians. The possibilities of the violin, and with it all bowed instruments, were transformed by the genius of Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840) who, as performer and composer for his own instrument, demonstrated a virtuosity that former violinists and composers had scarcely imagined. The improvements made on the violin bow by François Tourte (1747-1835) played no little part in making possible the new violin technic. From the old heavy and clumsy bow with a stick which curved away from the hair, Tourte made the delicate and finely balanced modern bow so necessary to the accomplishment of much of modern violin technic. The brass instruments which, with the exception of the trombone, had been limited to buglelike open tones, were improved by the invention of valves which made possible a chromatic scale throughout their compass. The reed or

wood-wind instruments were immensely improved by the addition of new keys and the introduction of new methods of fingering for which the celebrated flutist Theobald Boehm (1794-1881) was largely responsible. With the improvement of instruments came the further enriching of the choirs of the orchestra. The possibility of subdividing the strings had already been explored. Now each choir—string, reed, brass—was capable of playing in four parts, and each color of the brass and reed choirs was augmented by the addition of supplementary voices. To the flutes of the older orchestra could be added the piccolo and the alto flute. The oboes were strengthened by the English horn (*cor anglais*). The function of the clarinets was extended, and the number of bassoons was increased to four. The brass section was enlarged to include four horns, tenor trombones, bass trombone, tuba, and often four trumpets, with the occasional use of other instruments such as the *Flügelhorn*. The percussion was strengthened and the harp was added. Not only an infinite variety of color, but also the size and grandeur of tone became the ideal. This progress was not sudden, nor was Berlioz himself responsible for all of it, but he was so quick to grasp the possibilities of the modern orchestra that his work may be taken as representative.

Berlioz' Position as a Composer

Berlioz' music, operatic and symphonic, was popular in Germany and even in Russia long before the French would claim it. That was due largely to the tours which Berlioz made as a conductor, but it was also partly the result of the personal antagonism between Berlioz and French musicians. His struggle for recognition in Paris was never entirely successful, and Berlioz' music did not become the *mode* until long after his death. Because he was a storm center of criticism and praise during his lifetime, and because the dimensions of most of his music put obstacles in the way of its performance, it is still difficult to reach anything like a final appraisal of either his genius or his importance. He is praised for his gift for delicate and finely drawn melody. His detractors who point with scorn to his sketchy training are wrong; he mastered, against odds, a technical equipment that was fully

adequate. It is perhaps true that Berlioz lacked the rich harmonic imagination which was so characteristic of most nineteenth-century composers. Not being a pianist, he could not "hunt for chords" on the keyboard as several of his contemporaries did. But if he lacked harmonic imagination he made up for it in melodic style, rhythmic vigor, and above all, in feeling for instrumental color.

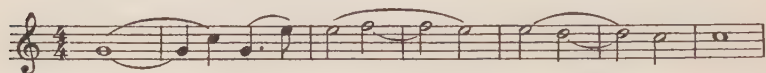
A Method for Realism

Most important of the contributions which Berlioz made to the resources of Romanticism was the method by which he achieved realism. The works in which Schumann and Chopin had come closest to a practical demonstration of the value of Romanticism were short; both composers evaded the formal problem presented by works of large dimensions. Berlioz, possessed of a temperament that responded to the sight of a ream of large-sized music paper, was not satisfied to confine himself to small pieces in which the formal problem could be solved with relative ease. In order, then, to use the large symphonic forms, such as the overture and the symphony, he was under the compulsion to discover some musical method by which he could present his "program" idea. The result was a compromise between the absolute form of the classicist and the chaos which might have resulted from a complete abandonment of the older forms in favor of some structure based on extra-musical ideas. That Berlioz' forms never approached chaos was due to his inherent good musicianship.

The Idée Fixe

Berlioz conceived the idea of associating an external idea with a definite piece of musical subject matter. His procedure can be best illustrated by reference to his *Symphonie fantastique*. He gave the following program: "A young musician of morbid sensibility and ardent imagination poisons himself with opium in a fit of amorous despair. The narcotic dose, too weak to result in death, plunges him into a heavy sleep accompanied by the strangest visions, during which his sensations, sentiments, and

recollections are transformed in his sick brain into musical thoughts and images. The beloved woman herself has become for him a melody like a *fixed idea* which he finds and hears everywhere." This program defines his method. Formal unity, throughout a long composition, he obtained by the use of a "fixed idea" (*idée fixe*). The selection and use of musical material is controlled not by the necessity of writing in a preconceived musical form, but by the drama of the program. A sort of musical unity, however, results from the appearance, from movement to movement, and in totally different tonal surroundings, of the "*idée fixe*":



Here, launched by Berlioz in the year 1830, in a way which forced attention, was the basic principle of a musical realism which was destined to have immense importance.

The Validity of Program Music

It must be remarked that the process by which Berlioz asked his listeners to associate a definite dramatic or pictorial idea with an equally definite piece of musical subject matter contained dangerous implications. Even in opera, aided by stage representation, such an association has elements of artificiality. If the association is not truthful—if, in other words, the music in question has no psychological connection with the program idea—the attempted association is wholly false and tends eventually to destroy any meaning which the music may possess. Therein lies the danger of Berlioz' method. If, on the other hand, the association is truthful—if the music in question does represent in terms of musical ideas the program idea (by some such psychological alchemy as Berlioz indicated in his "program" for the *Symphonie fantastique*)—then the fundamental distinction between idealism and realism breaks down. The only distinction which remains is the superficial one based on whether or not the creative artist makes use of extramusical methods, such as a verbal program or a stage presentation. To gain a concept of what was called "psychological

form" in connection with Beethoven certain questions were indicated; to determine the validity of program music another question might be presented: Does the music actually *mean*, psychologically, what the composer asks that it mean?

The program idea as a formal principle that could be applied to works of larger dimensions and thus provide a substitute for the sonata and the symphony became important in the compositions of Berlioz. But, like all originators, he did not completely realize the implications of his method. To transform the symphony into the symphonic tone poem was the work of Franz Liszt.

Liszt

Franz Liszt was born in 1811 in the Hungarian village of Raiding where his father was an official in the employ of the Esterházy family. Liszt's father, who was something of a musician himself, recognized his son's talent and devoted himself to its cultivation. After lessons in Vienna from Czerny and Salieri, and a successful concert at which the boy won the praise of Beethoven, Liszt was taken to Paris. For several years after 1823, when the family went to Paris, Liszt was taken on extended concert trips during which he achieved a remarkable career as a pianist. He had also been active as a composer; in 1825 the *Opéra* saw the performance of his operetta *Don Sanche*.

Formative Influences

During his young manhood in Paris Liszt was subjected to three highly important influences. The first was the playing of Paganini. Liszt had already become one of the most accomplished pianists of the early nineteenth century, but the astounding virtuosity of Paganini on the violin was so impressive that the young pianist determined to make himself the Paganini of his own instrument. The second was his warm friendship with Chopin. Chopin's poetic nature, together with his great interest in musical nationalism as a source of material for composition, greatly affected Liszt and intensified the interests which made him one

of the leaders of Romanticism. The third was Hector Berlioz. When Berlioz returned from Italy, Liszt made his acquaintance and adopted his ideas, especially as they had crystallized in the *Symphonie fantastique*. From then on he was committed to the realistic aspect of Romanticism: that music existed for the expression of a poetic idea.

Liszt as Piano Virtuoso

Until 1847 Liszt continued his career as piano virtuoso. In the twenty-four years which had elapsed since his arrival in Paris, he had convinced Europe that he was its greatest pianist. He had more than realized his desire to bring to his own instrument the virtuosity of a Paganini; he had also revealed much of the startling display, the showy pyrotechnics, and the doubtful taste which had made Paganini suspected of charlatanism. But the renown of his playing gave him a prestige which added weight to any movement he happened to espouse.

Weimar: Conductor, Composer, Teacher

In 1842 Liszt was appointed chapelmaster "in extraordinary" at Weimar, and from 1848 until 1861 he lived there, actively engaged as director of the court musical enterprises. During his stay at Weimar he gave up concertizing and devoted himself to composing, conducting, and teaching. His remarkable personality made him a great teacher; his pupils came from all over the world. As a conductor he did invaluable work in encouraging his contemporaries of revolutionary tendency. Both Berlioz and Wagner were indebted to Liszt and the Weimar orchestra for sympathetic performances of their works. In Weimar Liszt, already known as a composer and transcriber of much brilliant piano music, turned to orchestral composition, producing the long list of symphonic poems which make him so important a figure in the history of music.

Rome

After 1861 Liszt divided his time between Weimar and Rome, and during the final years of his life, between Weimar, Budapest, and Rome. He had become the "grand old man" of European music; his pupils followed him from one residence to another, and the crowned heads and learned societies of Europe vied with one another in showering honors upon him.

Liszt's Music: The Symphonic Poem

Liszt's works covered every field of composition. His compositions based on folk music, of which the Hungarian Rhapsodies are the most important, served to focus the attention of musicians, in a way that even Chopin had not succeeded in doing, on the possibilities of musical nationalism. His compositions for piano—compositions of almost limitless variety, ranging from operatic and song transcriptions (he transcribed two books of Bach's organ works, Beethoven's nine symphonies, and fifty-three Schubert songs) to the B-A-C-H fugue and two concertos for piano and orchestra—created a new conception of the possibilities of the instrument. With Liszt the piano became what can best be described by the word "symphonic." Owing to Liszt's virtuoso understanding of the keyboard and his fertile musical imagination, some of the smaller descriptive piano pieces are highly successful as sustained and apt musical characterizations. The larger piano works, such as the Sonata in B minor and the two concertos, illustrate Liszt's characteristic approach to the sonata form. He was, as a romanticist, dissatisfied with division of a large work into more or less unconnected movements. In these works he attempted a condensation into one extended movement which, while it retained the general contrasts of pace and thematic material, satisfied his desire for obvious expressive continuity.

Liszt's strong religious tendency, which finally resulted in his attachment to Rome and his acceptance of religious orders, was the inspiration for much religious music—oratorios, cantatas, and Masses. But his best and most important works were written

for orchestra in the form of which he may be said to have been the inventor, the symphonic poem.

The sources of Liszt's symphonic methods must be sought in the widely diversified musical background of his time. Above all other composers he admired Beethoven; in his first two important symphonic works, the *Dante* and the *Faust* symphonies, he made use of the choral finale idea which Beethoven had embodied in the *Ninth Symphony*. As a young man in Paris he had transcribed Berlioz' *Symphonie fantastique* for piano and had even composed an *Andante amoroso* after the *idée fixe* melody. Liszt was, in like manner, undoubtedly influenced by the work of Richard Wagner in the field of opera.

With Liszt the symphonic poem became a work in one connected movement, the sections of which were bound together by the underlying programmatic idea and by a thematic treatment in which musical ideas recurred in different and varied forms. The particular manner in which Liszt used his thematic material has come to be known as *theme transformation*. Berlioz used his *idée fixe* as a unifying idea to be superimposed upon a changing musical structure; Liszt used his *motives* as the very stuff out of which, by a species of variation controlled not by formal but by dramatic necessity, he fashioned his musical structure.

Liszt's Methods: Theme Transformation

Liszt's method can be best illustrated from his third symphonic poem, *Les préludes*. This work, although it has perhaps less of the character of an improvisation than many of Liszt's works, is quite free in form. As program music it is based upon a passage of the *Méditations, poétiques et religieuses* of Lamartine:

What is our life but a series of preludes to that unknown song, the first solemn note of which is sounded by Death? The enchanted dawn of every existence is heralded by Love, yet in whose destiny are not the first throbs of happiness interrupted by storms whose violent blasts dissipate his fond illusions, consuming his altar with fatal fire? and where is to be found the cruelly bruised soul, that having become the

sport of one of these tempests does not seek oblivion in the sweet quiet of rural life? Nevertheless, man seldom resigns himself to the beneficent calm which at first chained him to Nature's bosom. No sooner does the trumpet sound the alarm than he runs to the post of danger, be the war what it may that summons him to its ranks. For there he will find again in the struggle complete self-realization and the full possession of his forces.

With this passage as a motto Liszt divided his tone poem into four sections: (a) moods of spring and love; (b) storms of life; (c) comfort in love, peaceful idyl; (d) strife and victory. The underlying musical motives are presented near the beginning:



The first three notes form the most characteristic part of this motive, which is carried through endless transformations:



Like the verbal motto, this melody is the basic unifying element of the musical structure: its presence and the manner of its use serves not only to remind the listener of a central poetic or programmatic idea but it also accomplishes the very important service of giving the music a structure which is independent of

the program. Liszt did not make this solution of the problem of program music a formula, but the principle which implied that music, despite its program, must generate on the basis of an intelligible tonal structure, was of vast importance.

Harmonic Structure

Although Liszt was by no means the only composer engaged in the process, he may be taken as a typical representative of the nineteenth-century expansion of harmony. Harmonic resources, never stable, had reached, during the last half of the eighteenth century, a point of equilibrium which is still represented in the harmony books and which has been called "classic tonality." Chord structure, relation of chords to a tonic center, and process of modulation from one tonic to another, were all clarified by what seemed to be a complete and natural tonal system. Much to the dismay of the older men, however, the romanticists were not satisfied to allow their harmonic resources to become static. Through their constant search for more vivid harmonic effects, they began to effect a breakdown in what might be called the rule of the tonic. Violent chromaticisms, sudden and distant modulations, a tendency to explore still further the expressive value of dissonances, and the beginning of a new concept of counterpoint not amenable to strict tonality, made it evident, before the nineteenth century had reached its meridian, that the equilibrium of classic tonality was unstable. Liszt was an important innovator in this field.

Liszt's Importance and Influence

Liszt, like Berlioz, is difficult to evaluate. Of his orchestral works—two program symphonies and twelve symphonic poems—few, with the exception of the ever popular *Les préludes*, have remained in the concert repertoire. Perhaps some of the qualities which made him a great popular virtuoso interfered with his complete success as a composer. Nevertheless, Liszt was one of the most important figures of his own time. His musical concepts, his aid to his contemporaries of revolutionary tendencies, and his im-

mense prestige, affected like a magnet the main currents of nineteenth-century historical development. The artistic history of his time would have been altogether different without him. His contributions may be summed up as follows: he was, to a large extent, responsible for the growing interest in musical nationalism; he refashioned the concept of piano playing, adding enormously to the possibilities of that instrument; he invented, on a foundation laid by Berlioz, the symphonic tone poem; he continued, also on Berlioz' foundation, the exploitation of orchestral possibilities; he was a leader in the enlargement of harmonic resources; he composed some music without which musical literature would be poorer.

Summary

Thus far the Romantic Movement had produced a complete overturn in the aims with which composers approached the creation of music. The comparative objectivity of the classicists had given way to a poetic and extremely sensitive subjectivity. The concept of music as a universal art had suffered because composers had chosen to draw upon the idioms of national folk music. Musical materials had continued to be exploited, not because of the formal implications of new discoveries but because of their expressive value. The classical forms had lost much of their vitality; rather than mold their ideas to a preconceived form, composers had been willing to invent a new structure for every composition. All of these changes had resulted in new formal categories. The sonata had given way to the shorter pieces such as Mendelssohn, Chopin, Schumann, and Liszt chose to write. The symphony had become either the program symphony or the symphonic poem. The art song had appeared as one of the most lovable innovations. And the opera, which was the first to demonstrate conclusively the value of the new musical concepts, was about to become the music drama, in the hands of Richard Wagner, the most romantic of a century of romanticists.

Readings

Frederick Corder
 Guy de Pourtalis
 Arthur Hervey

L. Ramann
 Raphaël Ledos de Beaufort
 Amy Fay
 Hector Berlioz
 D. G. Mason
 W. H. Hadow
 Adam Carse
 Louis Adolph Coerne
 Herbert Westerby
 Arthur W. Locke

Romain Rolland
 Felix Weingartner
 A. Boschot

Julien Tiersot
 Julius Kapp

Ferencz Liszt
The Life of Franz Liszt
Franz Liszt and His Music
French Music in the XIXth Century
Franz Liszt
Franz Liszt
Music Study in Germany
The Life of Hector Berlioz
The Romantic Composers
Studies in Modern Music
The History of Orchestration
The Evolution of Modern Orchestration
The History of Pianoforte Music
Music and the Romantic Movement in
France
Musicians of Today
The Symphony Since Beethoven
La Jeunesse d'un romantique
Un romantique sous Louis-Philippe
La crépuscule d'un romantique
Hector Berlioz
Berlioz

THE MUSIC DRAMA: RICHARD WAGNER

Early Training and Influences

RICHARD WAGNER was born in Leipzig in 1813; the year and the place of Napoleon's crushing defeat at the "Battle of the Nations." Before Wagner was a year old his father died and his mother soon thereafter married an actor-poet, Ludwig Geyer, of Dresden. Thus Wagner's earliest recollections were connected with the theater; his adoptive father's house was the gathering place of actors and musicians; his brothers and sisters were connected with the stage; Weber, the director of the Dresden opera, noticed the boy and became one of his lifelong heroes. Wagner's early education was begun in Dresden, where as a youth he conceived the ambition of writing a great tragedy in the style of Shakespeare. His earliest aspirations showed only a superficial feeling for music, but considerable talent for dramatic poetry. Not until after Wagner's mother, again a widow, returned to Leipzig, did he show any decided interest in music. There, while he was a school and university student, he devoted considerable time and attention to the study of violin, piano, and counterpoint. The most important of his teachers, Weinlig, was cantor at the Thomas church and an excellent contrapuntist. But Leipzig was no longer the city of Bach, and had not yet become the city of Mendelssohn and Schumann. The compositions of the Leipzig years before 1833 are important only because Wagner's later masterpieces give them a certain dignity; some of the mannerisms which are characteristically Wagnerian are visible in an embryonic form.

Wagner's youthful contacts with the stage and his early poetic

aspirations drew him naturally to the opera. Among the compositions of his student years in Leipzig was a series of sketches for an opera, never completed because his sister, a member of the company at the Leipzig theater, did not like it. In 1833, while he was visiting a brother who was an actor and singer at Würzburg, he completed his first opera, *Die Feen*, which, however, was not performed until after Wagner's death.

Early Career: First Operas

Without the orthodox musical training, but with an immense enthusiasm, Wagner now entered on the professional career of operatic musical director. The eighteenth-century vogue for Italian opera had left every German city of any importance with an establishment for the performance of opera. The small opera houses were not capable of brilliant productions, but they furnished young singers and conductors with an unequaled opportunity for gaining experience. Wagner was engaged as musical director of the city theater at Magdeburg. Here his second opera, *Das Liebesverbot*, after Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, was completed. It was performed at a benefit for Wagner in 1836, was not a success, and with his characteristic gratitude Wagner blamed the singers for a bad performance.

Paris: Rienzi, and Der Fliegende Holländer

After a short stay in Königsberg, Wagner, now married to Minna Planer, was appointed Kapellmeister of the theater at Riga, where he stayed from 1837 until 1839. Crowded by debts which he could not possibly pay, not knowing where to turn, Wagner and his wife set out for Paris, traveling by sea via London. The years in Paris, 1839 to 1842, were a bitter experience. He had hoped to find immediate recognition for his talents; he met constant and repeated discouragement and disappointment. But he made great strides as a composer during the sojourn in Paris. *Rienzi*, begun in Riga, was completed. *Der Fliegende Holländer* and *Eine Faust Ouvertüre* were begun and completed.

The hack work which Wagner was forced to do for a living—communications to German newspapers, small compositions to order, piano arrangements for publishers of current “hits,” and any kind of music that might have a popular sale—was trying to an artistic temperament, but it was a remarkable school for a talent which might never otherwise have had the patience to study other men’s music in detail. Moreover, Wagner heard the best performances then available in Europe and met many of the most important musicians. He heard the great performances of Beethoven’s symphonies by the orchestra of the *Conservatoire* under the direction of Habeneck. He was present at many important performances in both of the Paris operas. He made the acquaintance of Meyerbeer, Berlioz, Chopin, and Liszt. The friends who were not able to help him in Paris secured promises of performances in Germany. *Der Fliegende Holländer* was to be performed in Berlin, and *Rienzi* in Dresden.

Dresden: *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*

Wagner returned to Germany and after the performances of *Rienzi* and *Der Fliegende Holländer* was appointed court musical director at Dresden in 1843. The Dresden period, which ended with Wagner’s flight because of his part in the May Revolution of 1849, was one of intense artistic activity. As a conductor he rejuvenated his musical forces; the climax of his efforts was the performance of Beethoven’s *Ninth Symphony* in 1846. As poet-composer he completed *Tannhäuser*, performed in 1845, *Lohengrin* (1847, but not performed until 1850 by Liszt in Weimar), and began *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* and *Der Ring des Nibelungen*.

The 1849 Revolution

In 1848 Wagner, disappointed because of the political intrigue which interfered with the complete realization of his artistic ideals, presented the royal minister in charge of the fine arts with a plan for a national theater in Saxony. His disgruntlement at

receiving no answer to his communication was probably responsible for the part he took in the revolution. He hoped that a new political organization would afford him the opportunity to develop his ideal theater. But the revolution was not successful, and at the approach of the Prussian troops he had to flee, an outlaw who could return to Germany only at the risk of being imprisoned. Wagner was passionately a musical revolutionary, but it is doubtful if his excursions into politics were ever motivated by anything but his desire to find greater freedom for his art. Consequently his exclusion from Germany was a terrific blow to his hope for a national theater.

Switzerland: Prose Writings

Wagner settled in Zürich after short stays in Weimar and Paris, and for a time devoted his energies to a close scrutiny of his artistic principles and to the completion of the great poem which later served as the text for *Der Ring des Nibelungen*. His artistic philosophy became crystallized, and he rationalized, in several documents, his part in the May Revolution. At the same time a continuation of the writing begun in Paris made Wagner the great artistic propagandist of the nineteenth century. The pamphlets included *Art and Revolution* (1849), *The Art Work of the Future* (1850), *Art and Climate* (1850), *Opera and Drama* (1851), and *A Communication to My Friends* (1851).

During the stay in Zürich, which lasted for ten years, Wagner's first four important operas, *Rienzi*, *Der Fliegende Holländer*, *Tannhäuser*, and *Lohengrin*, were appearing with more and more frequency in Germany, and Wagner's fame was growing. In 1855 he was invited to London for a season as guest conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra. He also received a request for an opera from the Emperor of Brazil. But the most important events of the Swiss sojourn surrounded the conception and creation of *Tristan und Isolde*.

Among the friends Wagner made in Zürich were the Wesendoncks, Mathilde and Otto. They were destined to have an immensely important part in Wagner's career. The attachment between Wagner and his friends was so close that they offered him

the use of a villa near their country home. In this asylum, inspired by a relationship with Mathilde Wesendonck which seems to have been understood with remarkable sympathy by her husband, Wagner composed most of *Tristan und Isolde*, the most passionate love music which has ever been written.

Minna, who had been through the terrible Paris years with Wagner, and who had been bitterly disappointed at the loss of her home and social position in Dresden, could hardly have been expected to take a detached view of her husband's interest in Mathilde Wesendonck, however necessary that interest may have been to Wagner's muse. The situation was dangerous, and when the explosion finally came, Wagner fled alone to Italy, where he wrote the final measures of *Tristan und Isolde* in 1859.

Wanderings: Return to Germany

Now began another period of wandering. The years 1860 and 1861 saw the performance of *Tannhäuser* in Paris under conditions that were extraordinarily trying and discouraging. Here Wagner wrote the *Music of the Future*, and here, too, he received notice that he had been amnestied and could return to Germany. *Tristan und Isolde* had been accepted at Vienna, but despite Wagner's tirelessness, the work failed in rehearsal. With phenomenal belief in his own destiny, however, Wagner continued to follow his artistic star, working toward the completion of *Die Meistersinger*.

Munich: The National Theater: Bayreuth

After discouragement and disappointment had brought Wagner almost to despair, a miracle happened: In 1864 the young King of Bavaria, Ludwig II, invited him to Munich with the intention of supporting the realization of Wagner's national theater. Wagner reorganized the theater and conservatory and saw the successful performance, under the direction of Hans von Bülow, of *Tristan*, in 1865.

Wagner's desire to create an ideal situation, which necessi-

tated a reorganization that made powerful enemies, made Wagner's departure from Munich a political necessity. Wagner also had given his enemies a powerful weapon against him in his relationship with Cosima von Bülow, the wife of his young friend Hans von Bülow and the daughter of Franz Liszt. Wagner demonstrated time and again throughout his life that the sympathy and love of a woman was necessary to his artistic well-being. Cosima was the ideal companion, as she was to demonstrate not only as mistress and then wife until his death but also for almost fifty years thereafter as the moving spirit of the Bayreuth enterprise. However, the immediate result of the situation at Munich, a situation which can be justified only on the grounds that it probably assured the continuation of Wagner's creative activity, was extremely painful to all concerned, Wagner's loyal friends Hans von Bülow, Liszt, and King Ludwig most of all. The atmosphere at Munich cleared considerably when Wagner left for a retreat in the mountains where he would be able to complete his projected compositions. He took with him, however, the good will and promises of support of the King when he moved to Triebchen. There he completed *Die Meistersinger*, which received its first performance in Munich in 1868. He also continued to work on *Der Ring des Nibelungen* which by this time had taken shape in his mind as a cycle of musical dramas demanding a festival theater and atmosphere for its performance. *Das Rheingold*, the so-called *Vorspiel*, or prelude to the *Ring*, was performed in Munich in 1869, and its success was great enough to encourage the "Wagnerites" in their work of building a festival theater. Bayreuth was selected as the location; and in 1871 Wagner, with Cosima, now his wife, moved there to superintend the erection into stone of his great dream. Finally, in 1876, in the presence of the élite of Europe, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* was performed. In 1882 Wagner's final work, *Parsifal*, was performed, and in 1883 Wagner died. He had made his dream a reality. More than that, he had established a tradition; after his death, under the guidance of his widow and their son Siegfried Wagner, the Bayreuth theater continued to be an important artistic influence.

Wagner's Works

Wagner's works show a remarkable development. *Rienzi* is a grand opera, showing the influence of such early romanticists as Weber, Rossini, and Meyerbeer. Wagner quickly assimilated the progress which his predecessors had made. But in *Rienzi* he did not go beyond them. Only a few of what later became the elements of his personal idiom, such as characteristic melodic and harmonic devices, are evident. The change which led finally to Wagner's mature style made its appearance in *Der Fliegende Holländer*. It is still romantic opera—the work is divided into numbers, preceded by an overture—but Wagner's method, by which he developed a large musical structure out of relatively small germ ideas, is here applied. "Senta's Ballad" contained the musical germ out of which Wagner developed much of the music for the rest of the drama.

The Tannhäuser Overture

In *Tannhäuser* are to be found many evidences that Wagner's artistic methods were maturing. The overture was a complete symphonic poem, brilliantly orchestrated, in which the various musical subjects draw their programmatic significance from the connection in which they appear in the body of the opera. The romantic technic had thus made possible an operatic overture which not only predicted the general mood of the opera but which also foretold the events. It was not an innovation to use subject matter from the opera in the overture; it was, however, strictly in keeping with the romantic trend that the overture constructed in that manner should successfully depict the action of the drama.

Earlier in the century Beethoven had rewritten the overture to his *Fidelio* four times in the attempt to solve the problem presented by the relationship of overture to opera. Wagner, in discussing the same problem, pointed out that Beethoven had been handicapped by the necessity of following the sonata form; that the recapitulation, in a work that attempted to follow a program, was as faulty

as the *da capo* in the aria, because it necessitated the repetition at the end of what had already occurred at the beginning. Although the overture to *Tannhäuser* can be construed as a sonata form, it is such only incidentally and because its program allows a reminiscence of the earlier "Pilgrim's Chorus." Wagner inherited and made the most of the romanticist's freedom from formal restrictions. More than that, he adopted the methods of Berlioz and Liszt in the use of his materials.

Lohengrin: *The Last Opera*

In *Lohengrin* Wagner the composer reached a maturity equal to that of Wagner the poet. Had Wagner ceased creative activity at the time of the May Revolution, *Lohengrin* would undoubtedly be looked upon as marking the complete realization of romantic ideals as applied to opera. *Lohengrin* is just that. It was actually the last *opera* that Wagner composed. With it he had exploited to the full the implications of Romanticism as far as the conventional nineteenth-century opera was concerned. It was the last work in which Wagner was a product of the artistic tendencies of his time. Important as those tendencies were, Wagner had encompassed their possibilities. The years at Zürich gave him the opportunity to gather his forces and to examine and formulate the principles which would enable him to enter a territory which, without his work, might never have existed.

The Music Drama

Wagner's dream of a great national theater which would give to the drama the dignity and significance it had had in the life of ancient Athens was naturally accompanied by a concept of an art work which would be equally vital. It was to result from an effective collaboration of all the arts and it was to depict the fundamental greatness of the German people. The poem was to be based on the sagas of the Northmen. Wagner had been working on the poem during the years at Munich; it was published in 1853, a dramatic trilogy with an introduction: *Das Rhein-*

gold, *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried*, and *Götterdämmerung*. But because the energy necessary to the completion of such a stupendous work as this "Art Work of the Future" was dependent largely upon the possibility of having a theater for its performance, Wagner laid it aside. Consequently the first realization of the new art method which Wagner had developed to meet the needs of his new concepts was accomplished in *Tristan und Isolde*.

Tristan grew out of the old saga of the Cornish knight of the same name. But it probably would never have been brought to a successful conclusion had not Wagner himself lived the emotions out of which it grew. It was probably unfortunate for the personal lives of Minna and Richard Wagner and Mathilde and Otto Wesendonck that Wagner and Mathilde shared a love which inspired the music for *Tristan und Isolde*, but the white heat at which Wagner created during the episode produced a work which is a sublime justification for human frailties. And it must be granted to Wagner that he not only conceived a great art work under such circumstances, but he brought it to complete and finished realization, with a fertility of invention which made *Tristan und Isolde* an almost perfect embodiment of his ideal "music drama."

Tristan is not an opera. In it Wagner discarded all except the most obvious conventions of opera. The drama deals only superficially with the action which can be seen on the stage; it is a drama of human emotions, a psychological study of the passion that Wagner knew best—love. The orchestra not only supported the singing of the actors, it took over the function of the chorus in a Greek drama: it commented with its thousands of tongues on the most secret psychological connotations of the visible drama. Here, indeed, was a new and revolutionary manner of using music, only slightly forecast in the *idée fixe* of Berlioz or the theme transformation of Liszt, but demanding an even more radical innovation in method. Wagner called his new work a *music drama*; the methods which he evolved to make it possible must now claim our attention.

Wagner's Method

The explanation of Wagner's method, which was externally an evolution of the realistic aspect of Romanticism, is so simple as to excite wonder. Why had no one thought of it before? A proper orientation with regard to the apparent simplicity may be gained by asking further: why, since Wagner showed the way, has every attempt at a continuation of his work been either a partial or complete failure? Wagner's method was by no means as simple as its description.

The Leitmotiv

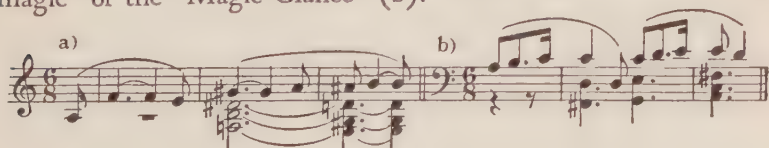
Wagner argued that the true drama does not stop and wait at the double bar which had always marked the completion of each small section—aria, duet, quartet, chorus—of conventional opera; that conventional recitative and aria were likewise undramatic; that the only function of costume, setting, gesture, dance, and music was to aid the drama. To prevent melody, as a tonal entity, from interfering with the drama he largely took it away from the actors and gave them what might be called *spoken song*. But his intention was not to make his music unmelodious—melody is one of music's most pregnant expressive assets—but to make sure that melody would perform the desired function. This he did by giving the orchestra what he called an *endless melody*. (It must be added parenthetically that, because part of Wagner's color technic was to use voices orchestrally, no theoretical inconsistency was involved when he gave the endless melody to a voice.) The endless melody was the center of his whole musical fabric; rhythm, harmony, and instrumental color were treated as inseparable from it. That fluent and flexible melody was built up from the often short but always poignant *motives* by which Wagner characterized and described the various aspects of the drama. Hans von Wolzogen, who analyzed Wagner's music dramas for the public, used the expression *Leitmotiv*, "leading motive." The technic by which numerous leading motives are

woven into an endless melody whose function is to comment on the drama was the central feature of Wagner's method. In a Wagnerian music drama the music moves, without a pause, from the opening bar of the prelude (the music drama needed no overture) to the close of the act. Motives appear and disappear and are transformed: the whole symphonic web moves in response to the demands of the drama.

Wagner felt, with good reason, that his manner of musical treatment related the music drama to the symphonies of Beethoven rather than to the operas which preceded his work. Beethoven, in his symphonies, pointed the way to the type of free symphonic development which Wagner used with such telling effect for dramatic purposes. In Wagner's mature works the characterization of personalities and events and the sustained action, often psychological, are largely the result of his symphonic handling of his materials. Wagner and his followers felt that Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* burst the old symphonic mold; the only logical successor to it could be the music drama. Such logic did not preclude the creation of great symphonies after Beethoven's *Ninth* or even after Wagner; it did, however, indicate a relationship between Wagner and Beethoven which has validity in showing the symphonic derivation of Wagner's method.

Realism Again

The ordinary way of explaining one of Wagner's works to a person first making its acquaintance is to tack names to the motives as they appear. Thus, from *Tristan* the following motives have been characterized as "Love longing" (a) and "Love magic" or the "Magic Glance" (b).



Although this method of explaining, attempted by all of Wagner's commentators, has its value in making an acquaintance

with his works, it has the fault of placing too great an emphasis on the realistic aspect of Wagner's aesthetic principles. Wagner's method is realistic only in its superficial aspects. If the motives illustrated above (or an overwhelming majority of Wagner's motives) were not truthful—if they were not the translation into sound of the true psychological character which Wagner intended them to represent—if, in other words, Wagner expected his listeners to make a forced association between a bit of music and a bit of drama where no true association existed, then the distinction between ideal and real would be clear and Wagner's method might be called realistic. Before the only true distinction between idealistic music and realistic music can be drawn, one concept or the other must be destroyed. An art based entirely on artificial association between extramusical idea and musical representation would be realistic, but it would hardly be valid. An art based upon true relation between extramusical idea and musical representation may appear realistic when compared to music which is an objective tonal fabric, but that realism is only superficial and the art is none the less idealistic.

The Validity of Wagner's Aims

Wagner's detractors went to the extreme of declaring that music had no such power as he was attempting to use—that no true relation between extramusical idea and musical representation could possibly exist. If that hypothesis be accepted, then Wagner's music is realistic and he was attempting the impossible. At least two things, however, seem to contradict such a hypothesis:

1. The whole history of music bears witness to the constantly more successful search for just that quality in music.
2. The person who allows himself to come under the sway of Wagner's music *feels* just that quality.

The discussion of the validity of Wagner's musical philosophy may seem abstract, but it will later have significance in relation to the influence of Wagner on other composers.

Der Ring des Nibelungen, long planned in Wagner's mind, became a possibility with the building of the Bayreuth theater.

In it Wagner brought his methods to a climax. The work takes four long evenings for its performance, but the unity both of musical structure and psychological effect makes it not four music dramas, but one gigantic composition which sums up in an unforgettable manner not only the Romantic Movement but also all of the artistic forces of Wagner's time.

Wagner's Influence and Importance

Wagner's influence is difficult to measure. During his lifetime he was always the center of a storm of controversy. Not only was his music revolutionary, but his attitudes toward art were extremely disconcerting to all but the vanguard of the romanticists; his personality was such that they could not always follow him to the extremes he demanded. It was difficult for his contemporaries to separate the man from the artist when they judged him. That difficulty should no longer exist; we may now look upon Wagner as an artist whose idealism, whose artistic morality, was pure. No man ever lived to whom art was more important; for him no aspect of life was untouched by art; to him everything had artistic significance. He saw with the clarity of a prophet the part that art might play in the lives of individual men and of nations. He tried to mold men and nations to his ideal; he tried equally to create a new art that would better function toward the achievement of his ideal. On both sides he met resistance, but he achieved enough success to establish a powerful influence.

His influence on the art of music was immediate and profound. Musicians, whether they understood him or not, imitated him. The most obvious distinction between Wagner's music and that of his predecessors was in its *sound*: Wagner's music sounded as no music before had done. Despite the storm of protest raised by the "Philistines" at the manner in which Wagner broke all the rules, his scores were studied with avidity by men who wanted to learn how these new sounds looked on paper. How did Wagner use the orchestra? What combination of tones produced that chord and this? When composers learned the answers to these and many more questions, they felt that the boundaries of musical

enterprise had been immeasurably extended and they were not slow to take advantage of that extension. Because Wagner had used a large orchestra, bigness became an ideal. Because Wagner's chromaticism led him into passages that were tonally more insecure than ever before, that insecurity became an ideal. The whole musical world went "Wagnerian"—tentatively, and with some misgivings at first—but finally whole-heartedly. Wagner still colors the whole musical horizon.

Wagner's influence was important in another and more fundamental way—perhaps more to those who misunderstood his philosophy of art than to those who understood. Once Wagner was accepted, the progress he made in using music as an expressive vehicle was only less obvious than the richness of the sound of his music. His method of using the leading motive was almost immediately reduced to a formula: striking musical subject + verbal explanation = musical expression. On the basis of such a formula a post-Wagner program music flourished, but many of its disciples failed to understand that in the formula the striking subject *must also equal* the verbal explanation. They did not grasp the fact that between idealism and realism in the field of musical expression the distinction is only superficial. Romantic realism, in order to be truthful, must encompass romantic idealism.

That Wagnerism is on the decline, owing partly to the imitators whose works are counterfeit because they are not truthful, should not blind the student of music history to Wagner's vast importance. Almost no phase of present music can be fully explained or even understood without reference to this giant of the nineteenth century.

Readings

W. Ashton Ellis
Richard Wagner
Paul Bekker
W. J. Henderson
Henry T. Finck
Ernest Newmann

Arthur Elson

Life of Wagner
My Life
Richard Wagner
Richard Wagner
Wagner and His Works
The Life of Richard Wagner
Wagner as Man and Artist
A Critical History of Opera

Bernard Shaw
W. H. Hadow
H. E. Krehbiel
Romain Rolland
Albert Lavignac

The Perfect Wagnerite
Studies in Modern Music
Studies in the Wagnerian Drama
Musicians of Today
The Music Dramas of Richard Wagner

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OTHER ASPECTS OF ROMANTICISM: BRAHMS

WHILE Wagner was carrying his all-inclusive artistic ideals to their triumphant conclusion at Bayreuth, the less startling romanticists found a new leader in the person of Johannes Brahms (1833-1897). Brahms was introduced to the musical world by a communication which Schumann published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1853. He was almost immediately accepted by Wagner's enemies as the composer who could preserve the sanity of the Romantic Movement.

Early Training

Brahms, the son of a professional musician, Jakob Brahms, a contrabassist in the Hamburg orchestra, was born in Hamburg. His father was his first teacher, but as he early showed a remarkable talent he was taken first to Otto Cossell and later to Edward Marxsen for instruction. His training was rigorous; he learned, for instance, to play and transpose the preludes and fugues of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavichord*. His inclination toward folk songs was a characteristic of his youth, and it is characteristic, too, that nature was a source of inspiration, as evidenced in his little early notebooks.

Brahms and Schumann

Brahms' musical career really began with his appearance as a pianist at Hamburg. He had already demonstrated his ability as a composer in the two sonatas that were later published as opus 1 and opus 2. In 1849 the Hungarian violinist Reményi, who was later to introduce Brahms to Joseph Joachim, played in Hamburg with Brahms as his accompanist. Thus began an association which took Brahms on a concert tour and made possible his introduction to Schumann at Düsseldorf in 1853.

Schumann was enormously attracted to Brahms, both by his personality and by his already impressive number of completed compositions. The friendship between Brahms and the Schumanns had its first fruit in the famous letter to the Leipzig musical journal, but it was continued with Clara Schumann long after her husband's death. Through her playing she introduced many of Brahms' piano works, and her admiration and affection were always a source of strength to him.

Schumann's public heralding of Brahms as the new musical "Messiah" would have turned the head of a man of less strength of character. To Brahms, however, the duty of fulfilling the prophecy of his friend was not to be taken lightly; he spent the next ten years preparing himself. The position as conductor which he held at Detmold for a few years after 1857 made only small demands on his time and when he moved to Vienna in 1862 he was, perhaps more fully than any other composer of the nineteenth century, thoroughly saturated with the technic and spirit of his predecessors, chief among whom was Beethoven.

Opposition to Wagner

During Brahms' prolonged period of study his contemporary sympathies became clarified. He was a romanticist at heart, but because of his admiration for Schumann and because of his belief in the fundamental value of an "absolute" music based on his understanding of the principles of Beethoven, he found himself

less and less in sympathy with Liszt and Wagner. Although there was no personal animosity, by the time Brahms went to Vienna he was an avowed opponent of the "Music of the Future."

Prior to 1868 Brahms had appeared before the musical public as a composer of chamber music, choral works, music for the piano, and songs. He had been active as a conductor, especially of the *Singakademie* in Vienna, but he had refused, because of the necessity of freedom for creative work, to bind himself to a position which would drain his energy. The role of leadership which Schumann had prophesied for Brahms had been tentative until the première of *Ein deutsches Requiem*, opus 45, in 1868. This work opened the eyes of many who had hitherto looked askance, and after its performance every future work was awaited with interest and expectancy.

Vienna: Brahms' Works

After 1869 Brahms made Vienna his permanent home. There he composed the great orchestral works and there the world came to honor him as it had honored Beethoven. The *First Symphony* was performed in 1876, after Brahms had worked at it for fourteen years. He felt that it must be a projection into a new world—in the spirit of the later Beethoven but in terms of the late nineteenth century. Hans von Bülow, who had given up his allegiance to Wagner, called it the *tenth* symphony, and in speaking of its composer called him the successor to Bach and Beethoven. The musical world had a new expression: the three B's: Bach, Beethoven, Brahms.

Brahms' works may be listed as follows:

ORCHESTRAL WORKS

Two serenades, opera 11, 16

Two piano concertos, opera 15, 83

Variations on a theme by Haydn, opus 56

Violin concerto, opus 77

Double concerto for violin and violoncello, opus 102

Two overtures: "Academie Festival," opus 80

"Tragic," opus 81

Four symphonies: C minor, opus 68; D major, opus 73

F major, opus 90; E minor, opus 98

CHAMBER MUSIC

- Three trios for piano, violin, violoncello, opera 8, 87, 101
- One trio for piano, violin, horn, opus 40
- One trio for piano, clarinet, violoncello, opus 114
- Three string quartets, nos. 1 and 2, opus 51 and no. 3, opus 67
- Three piano quartets, opera 25, 26,¹ 60
- Two string quintets, opera 88, 111
- One piano quintet, opus 34²
- One clarinet quintet, opus 115³
- Two string sextets, opera 18, 36
- Three sonatas for violin and piano, opera 76, 100, 108
- Two sonatas for violoncello and piano, opera 38, 99
- Two sonatas for clarinet and piano, opus 120

WORKS FOR PIANO

The piano interested Brahms throughout his life. After the three early sonatas, opera 1, 2, and 5, and excepting the concertos for piano and orchestra listed above, he wrote only in the smaller forms: variations, waltzes, capriccios, intermezzos, rhapsodies.

CHORAL WORKS

Brahms' choral works, inspired by the fact that he was for a time in Vienna active as a choral conductor, include *Ein deutsches Requiem*, opus 45; a cantata, *Rinaldo*, opus 50; *Rhapsodie*, opus 53, based on poems of Goethe; the *Schicksalslied* (Song of Destiny), opus 54; the *Triumphslied* (Song of Triumph), opus 55; *Nänie*, opus 82, on a text by Schiller, the *Gesang der Parzen* (Song of the Fates), opus 89, based on Goethe's poem, and many smaller works.

ART SONGS

Brahms composed more than two hundred songs for voice and piano, among which are his adaptations of folk songs and many of the masterpieces of art-song literature.

The Elements of Brahms' Style

Brahms has always given trouble to the critics of musical art. Historians have felt the necessity of a special classification for him. To meet that necessity they invented the term *Neoclassicism*. Brahms cannot be explained, however, in terms of a clear-cut and

¹ Piano, violin, viola, violoncello.

² Piano and string quartet.

³ Clarinet, two violins, viola, violoncello.

easily defined artistic movement. He was not wholly an outgrowth of the Romanticism which preceded and surrounded him; neither was he altogether a reaction against the more revolutionary aspects of that romantic movement. To label Brahms *neoclassic* is to place the emphasis on only one aspect of his creative work. Rather than representing a new sort of Classicism, Brahms was characteristic of a Romanticism which had become frightened at its own implications—a Romanticism which would rather take refuge in the past than proceed, as Wagner's Romanticism had led him to do, into an uncharted future.

Brahms' early compositions, of which the three piano sonatas and the four ballads, opus 10, are characteristic, display an exuberant quality which has much in common with Schumann's early works. They show, too, with unmistakable clarity, the somber northern and often folklike quality which is the predominant color of all Brahms' music. The early piano works in the variation form, of which the opus 9, on a theme by Schumann, is representative, give a foretaste of the part that the technic involved in the making of variations was to play in Brahms' music. The rhythmic variation of thematic material, the syncopation of harmonic with melodic material, the derivation of new thematic material through augmentation and inversion quite in the manner of the old Netherlands tradition, the device of making the musical fabric richer by "hiding" themes in inner voices—all of the signs of the immense technical mastery of the later Brahms—are forecast. The importance of the relation of the variation to Brahms' style can be seen not only in the importance of his works in that form, works which came to a climax in the *Variations for Orchestra on a Theme by Haydn*, opus 56a, but in the manner in which the variation technic formed a basis for his whole method of composition. This latter relationship is most clearly visible in the development sections of his larger works.

The early works display characteristics of Brahms as a composer other than that he was romanticist enough to express his own personal qualities and was at the same time mastering the technic he was to use throughout his life. The quality of the subject matter with which he chose to work indicates, by its utter

simplicity and its often lightninglike change of character, Brahms' feeling for folk music and his admiration for Beethoven.

The works of Brahms' early maturity, while they contain some music for solo piano (but no more sonatas) show the composer's great interest in chamber music. The two piano quartets, opus 25 and opus 26, the piano quintet, opus 34, the string sextets, opus 18 and opus 36, the so-called "Horn" trio for piano, violin, and horn, opus 40, and the sonata for violoncello and piano, opus 38, give ample evidence of Brahms' mastery of the difficulties presented to the romanticist by chamber music. This period gives ample evidence also of the continuation, with greater power and facility, of the interest in the art song which had already been in evidence in the early period. The songs indicate, moreover, the continued ripening of Brahms' technic and stylistic idiom. Brahms' interest in choral music, which probably arose partly out of his studies of the music of Renaissance Netherlands, gave him still further reason for continuing those studies. The early orchestra works belong to that period and include the two "Serenades," opus 11 and opus 16, besides the many orchestral accompaniments for choral works.

Brahms' complete maturity came with *Ein deutsches Requiem*. This was followed by the other master choral works already listed and then by the first of the great symphonic works, the *Variations on a Theme by Haydn*. Brahms postponed his symphonies until he became sure both of his technical command of the medium and of the maturity of his style. When the first symphony was finally performed, it and its composer became the center of a storm of controversy. To be placed in opposition to Wagner and in apposition to Beethoven was enough to produce an artistic war of the first rank. Brahms' music was examined and studied with infinite care; flaws, both real and imaginary, were pounced upon with avidity. A style which was the result of so many influences might well be the cause of misunderstandings.

Brahms' four symphonies represent the culminating development of his style. In them he is a romanticist, with the austerity of his northern nature manifest, and with the exuberance of his youth deepened by mature experience. His interest in the past has borne fruit in his mastery of complex polyphony and form. His

long preparation for orchestral writing has made him a master of that medium. His studies of ancient choral works have given him a harmonic background which includes not only the discoveries of his own century but the modal procedures of the distant past. He works with complete certainty and conviction. If flaws exist, they are the result of his personal limitations.

Those who have been unable to accept Brahms' symphonic works with sympathy have pointed to the artificial circumstances which have influenced Brahms' development as a composer. The command, given by Schumann and heeded in all seriousness by Brahms, to compose in the grand manner (Schumann waited impatiently for Brahms to produce a symphony), turned Brahms away, to some extent, from the form of expression which was natural to him as a young man and led him to a renewed attempt to master a "grand" technic. When von Bülow spoke of the three B's, and when the Wagnerians appointed Brahms "anti-pope" to their Wagner, the chain of circumstance was complete.

Brahms' methods were undoubtedly formed partly as a result of these circumstances; but only partly. Therein lies the enigma of his style. How much of his method and style was the result of the apparent necessity of circumstance? How much was the result of the driving force of his own personality? In other words, how much of Brahms is artificial, and how much is genuine? The problem does not seem to approach solution; it continues to provoke critics and historians to take sides. Cecil Gray, for instance, has committed the following dictum to the irrevocability of print: "It is true that, by dint of sheer tenacity of purpose and unremitting industry, he eventually succeeded in acquiring to a great extent the grand manner, the classical gesture and intonation, but they never came naturally to him. It is this that is responsible for the impression that his essays in the larger forms invariably give the listener—the sense of strain and effort, as of a man who is engaged on a task not so much beyond his powers as fundamentally unsuited to them."⁴

Brahms was indeed a master in the use of the smaller forms, particularly the art song and the piano pieces. But even here his

⁴ Cecil Gray, *The History of Music*, p. 232.

ideal was an absolute perfection in the utilization of his materials. Such an ideal, which Brahms certainly applied with equal severity to all of his works, was a real part of his personality, and does not necessarily indicate a servile and artificial attempt to imitate "classical gesture and intonation." Brahms felt that the one territory which Romanticism had left unexplored was that of exploiting its new expressive materials for the purpose of achieving a new perfection in the great forms—and thereby reaching an even greater expressive perfection. The verdict of time may possibly be that Brahms, more than any other composer of the nineteenth century, attained neither a perfect classicism nor a perfect Romanticism—both are one-sided views of art—but an almost perfect balance between the two.

It is not true that the great symphonic works of Brahms invariably give the listener a "sense of strain and effort." Brahms, because of his great mastery of technic—a mastery resulting in a fabric of intense rhythmic and melodic complexity—demands a great deal from the listener. But when the listener has once mastered the difficulties, a process often requiring patience, he finds that Brahms' complexity is a means to an end: the exceedingly subtle, but almost invariably truthful, expression of a fundamental emotional experience. Therein is to be found not only the historic and artistic importance of the four symphonies, but also the reason for Brahms' greatness.

Although the four symphonies claim a large importance in the last twenty years of Brahms' life, they represent a relatively small part of his production. Other works for the orchestra include the three great concertos, one for piano, one for violin, and one for violin and violoncello, which might be called symphonies for orchestra and solo instruments. The two overtures, *Akademische Fest Ouvertüre* and *Tragische Ouvertüre*, came between the second and third symphonies. Chamber music continued to claim his attention. Great works in that field include the three sonatas for violin and piano, the two string quintets, and the sonatas, trio, and quintet in which he used the clarinet. After a long silence, Brahms renewed his interest in music for piano in the characteristically darkly colored and difficult but truly Brahmsian rhapsodies, fantasies, intermezzos, capriccios, and the

ballad and romanza. These late piano works show a Brahms who has cleared away all of the stylistic vagaries which crept into the early piano music, who has completely lost interest in virtuosity for its own sake, and who has developed for the piano a new and intensely personal idiom. Finally, he continued the ever-lengthening list of songs for voice and piano, songs which secure for Brahms a position with Schubert and Schumann in the great triumvirate of art-song composers.

Two Opposing Forces: Brahms and Wagner

Brahms must be accepted as personifying a second climax in the stream of nineteenth-century German music. With Wagner, as we have seen, the program idea reached a climax. With Brahms the organization of absolute music into greater forms on the basis of its psychological expressive content reached a climax. Between Wagner, who represented a development of realism, and Brahms, who represented a development of idealism, the differences seemed to be unsurmountable. But within fifty years after the death of Wagner, those differences have all but disappeared. Wagner's medium was the music drama: program music. Brahms' was the symphony: absolute music. But they both dealt with human emotions, and both in so doing used with equal truth the basic capacity of music to delineate those emotions. Eduard Hanslick, a friend of Brahms, but even more an enemy of Wagner, ended his book on musical aesthetics with the following: "Music has a subject—*i.e.*, a musical subject" (by which he meant only the abstract and objective grouping of tones), "which is no less a vital spark of the divine fire than the beautiful of any other art. Yet, only by steadfastly denying the existence of any other 'subject'" (by which he meant feeling or emotion) "in music, is it possible to save its 'true subject.' The indefinite emotions which at best underlie the other kind of subject do not explain its spiritual force."⁵ Hanslick struck at the whole foundations of that aspect of musical materials which gave validity to Romanticism. The irony of his statement was that it damaged Brahms

⁵ Eduard Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music*, p. 174.

equally with Wagner. Brahms is a great figure in the history of musical art not because he was a structural engineer—Mozart approached far nearer perfection in that—but because out of the bricks and beams of his structures he also managed to build expressive monuments of human emotion.

The Expressive Value of Brahms' Music

Both Brahms and Wagner may perhaps be “out of style” in a world that is ashamed of its emotions; but let no one suppose that such a change of fashion invalidates the genius of either of them.

The formula through which Wagner could be misunderstood was given at the end of the previous chapter. By seeking to explain the genius of Brahms on the basis of the superficial qualities of his music another such formula has been implicitly, although perhaps never consciously, conceived: austere subject matter + involved treatment = profundity—a quality necessary to absolute music. Sham austerity, plus sham display of the pyrotechnics of composition, may often produce a hollow profundity which, however, is not necessarily a prerequisite of absolute music. If the formula is applied for its own sake alone, the result must be mere pomposity, a hollow sham. The test that will finally settle the enigma of Brahms will be an answer to the question, “After I have given myself a chance to know Brahms’ music, does it sound pretentious and empty, or is it the profound expression of a personality that has experienced and understood the depths of human emotion?”

With Brahms, as with Wagner, contemporary acceptance was not always based upon a true understanding of basic aims. Enthusiasts thought that the leading motive was a good idea: let’s have more of it! Other enthusiasts thought that a return to classic forms and involved musical science was a good idea: let’s have more of it! More of both without the genius of their creators was approaching dangerously near to a *reductio ad absurdum* which would bring about a diffusion and finally a disparagement of the whole principle involved. But before we examine the events which

led to such diffusion and final disparagement, other important aspects of nineteenth-century musical development outside of Germany must claim our attention.

Readings

Walter Niemann

Florence May

Richard Specht

E. Markham Lee

J. A. Fuller-Maitland

D. G. Mason

W. H. Hadow

Eduard Hanslick

Max Kalbeck

Brahms

The Life of Johannes Brahms

Johannes Brahms

Brahms: The Man and His Music

Brahms

The Chamber Music of Brahms

From Grieg to Brahms

Studies in Modern Music

The Beautiful in Music

Johannes Brahms

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LATE ROMANTIC OPERA

Opera After the Music Drama

THE PROCESS by which Wagner transformed the opera into the music drama provides the material for the most interesting chapter in the history of nineteenth-century opera. But the development of a Wagnerian tradition in Germany neither destroyed nor appreciably altered the slower processes of operatic development which were going on in Italy and France. The ideas fundamental to Romanticism had begun to make themselves felt before Wagner's time; romantic opera continued to develop in the two great operatic centers, Italy and Paris, almost as though Wagner were actually the musical nonentity many of his contemporaries thought him to be.

Italy: Verdi

The successor to Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini in Italy was Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901). Verdi was born in a small village near Busseto, in Parma, where his father was a shopkeeper. Local musical instruction was to be had only from one or two enthusiastic amateurs and the choirmaster of the church. Verdi soon outstripped them all, and his talent aroused enough interest in Busseto that he was sent to Milan for further instruction. At Milan he was not received as a student at the conservatory, so he took lessons from Lavigna, the accompanist at *La Scala* theater. In 1839 his first opera, *Oberto*, was performed. It demonstrated Verdi's affinity to Bellini, and achieved enough popularity to encourage the young composer.

Verdi's Early Works

Beginning with *Nabucco* (1842) Verdi's fame began to spread; in the ten years following its composition he completed no less than thirteen works which were performed all over Italy and in many theaters on the other side of the Alps. Of the many operas of this early period, only one, *Luisa Miller* (1849), has remained in the operatic repertoire, although *Nabucco*, *Ernani* (1844) and one or two others have attracted some interest at revivals.

From Rigoletto to Aïda

Verdi's second period began with the three enormously popular operas, *Rigoletto* (1851), *Il trovatore* (1853), and *La traviata* (1853). With these works, he became the national composer of nineteenth-century Italy, and the representative of Italian music abroad. The second period was brought to a climax in 1871 by *Aïda*, written for the celebration in Cairo which followed the opening of the Suez Canal. Between *La traviata* and *Aïda* Verdi had continued to compose an opera almost every year, and with *Aïda* he supposed that his career as a composer had finished.

Otello and Falstaff

Perhaps the most amazing example of vitality in the whole history of music is furnished by the operas of what may well be called Verdi's third period: *Otello* (1887), and *Falstaff* (1892). These two works of Verdi's old age display a vigor and an ability to assimilate a new style that make them remarkably youthful. These operas are also a tribute to the composer-poet, Arrigo Boito (1842-1918), the composer of *Mefistofele* (1868), who devoted his time and talents to the older Verdi. Without Boito's encouragement, *Otello* and *Falstaff* might never have been written.

Verdi's Musical Methods

Verdi's music, because it is so purely Italian in conception and execution, is the very antithesis of Wagner's. Verdi's operas are not symbolical, but deal in a straightforward manner with human tragedy and humor. Verdi did not attempt to improve on the methods of his predecessors; he simply, to the best of his genius, made musical settings for the dramas which interested him. The relation between text and music was the traditional one; that Verdi's works were an improvement over those of most of his predecessors is convincing proof of his superior genius. Verdi, like all Italians, worshiped the human voice and, because of that worship, was convinced that a well-conceived part for an expressive voice was all that was necessary in the direction of dramatic expression. Orchestral accompaniment was thus always subordinate to vocal parts—it was often perfunctory.

Verdi has often been accused of having been a "barrel-organ" composer, possibly because of the extreme popularity of some of his tunes. It must be granted that Verdi's music is extremely melodic, and that those melodies have captured the fancy of even so lowly a musician as the organ grinder. But those who on that account disparage Verdi, and Italian music in general, might do well to examine the expression on the organ grinder's face when he plays Verdi. The appeal of such music is less intellectual than

the music drama of Wagner, but by the same token it is much more *direct*.

Italian Versus German Artistic Ideals

Verdi's later works begin to show the influence of Wagner, harmonically and orchestrally. But never does the voice cease to be the principal vehicle for the expression of emotion. . . . Sometime, perhaps, a history of music from the Italian point of view will be made available. Thus far, the Teutonic historians have lavished admiration upon Verdi for his late assimilation of German methods. It might be that the true Italian would say that in his middle period (ending with *Aida*) Verdi reached a climax for which Italian music had long been preparing, and that the last two operas represent the beginning of a decline from that climax because they exhibit a tendency to respond to Germanic influence. To the Italian, music is largely sensual—its business is to gratify the sense of hearing—and he may be right!

Verdi's Contemporaries

Arrigo Boito, the composer of the successful *Mefistofele*, and the poet of Verdi's last two operas, has already been mentioned. One other important contemporary of Verdi was Amilcare Ponchielli (1834-1886), whose *Gioconda* (1876) carried his reputation outside of Italy.

"Verismo"

During the last half of the nineteenth century a group of composers arose in Italy who have been regarded as operatic realists. Their type of realism, which may well be called by its Italian name *verismo*, requires, however, some explanation. The most obvious aspect of *verismo* was its tendency to deal, as far as operatic story was concerned, with folk situations—stories, in other words, which were taken from everyday life. Such stories were made *operatic* by a forceful kind of musical treatment which might al-

most be called misunderstood and Italianized Wagnerism. This entailed a brilliant, often heavy use of the orchestra, with some slight imitation of Wagner's use of the leading motive. But the action was melodramatic and usually bloody, and the voices were treated in characteristic Italian fashion.

Mascagni and Leoncavallo

Pietro Mascagni (1863-1945), and a pupil of Ponchielli, initiated the *verismo* movement. Although Mascagni has written numerous works, his first opera, *Cavalleria rusticana* (1890), is the one which has been responsible for his prestige. *Cavalleria rusticana* tells, in one act, the story of a tragic village love affair. It is important historically because it achieved an immediate popularity and initiated a characteristic artistic movement. *Cavalleria rusticana* was followed in 1892 by *I Pagliacci* by Ruggiero Leoncavallo (1858-1919). *I Pagliacci*, in two short acts, was, again, its composer's one truly popular work. Its success, however, was so immediate that it warranted a continuation of the *verismo* style.

Puccini

Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924), whose important works appeared during the two decades following the first performance of *I Pagliacci*, gave further impetus to the *verismo* of Italian opera. Puccini's style, however, is formed from so many influences that it is difficult to ascribe it altogether to Italian realism. It is realistic in the sense that the stories are largely common and often rather banal, and also in the sense that the musical treatment is so forceful and direct as to be sometimes brutal. But melodically there is an affinity between Puccini and some of the later operatic French composers who, in turn, were influenced by Wagner. But in so far as Puccini attempted a Wagnerian kind of realism, he demonstrated only a superficial understanding of Wagner's methods.

Puccini's works have had an immense vogue. Among them must be listed *Manon Lescaut* (1893), *La Bohème* (1896), *Tosca* (1900), *Madama Butterfly* (1904), and *La fanciulla del West* (The Girl of the Golden West, 1910), the last two founded on American plays.

"Verismo" as Romanticism

In Italian *verismo*, particularly as exemplified in the works of Puccini, the obvious expressive powers of music which Romanticism had for a century been eagerly exploiting were used for ends which seem to have been perilously near the absurd. Such an approach to absurdity does not destroy the value of much that is interesting and even poignant in Puccini's work. Such details as the use of a "motto" motive in *Tosca*, which appears first in the very short prelude and continues to appear with increasing effect throughout the opera, indicate that Puccini was an artist with fine powers and active imagination. But Puccini's great fault—a tendency to abuse the expressive value of music by writing music *more expressive than the dramatic action required*, reacted not so much against his own works as against the romantic conception of the function of music. The whole aim of music as an expressive vehicle began to appear absurd.

Verismo in the hands of the late nineteenth-century Italians produced many works which met with instant popular approval, but it is fairly safe to prophesy that its final result will have been to cause a reaction against the mannerisms which served as the chief tools of the romanticists. To the musician who admires the truthful musical delineation of human emotion, the works of the Italian realists contain many passages which are perniciously bombastic and lacking in truth.

France

After the first burst of Romanticism early in the nineteenth century, French opera settled into a course that was as national,

and as little romantic, as the tendency in Italy. Toward the middle of the century, French musicians became increasingly conscious of the international character of the music of Paris. Rossini and Meyerbeer, to say nothing of Jacques Offenbach and Friedrich von Flotow, the popular figures who transformed the *Opéra comique* into the *Opéra bouffe*, were not truly French, and had achieved only a Parisian veneer. The result of this condition was an effort on the part of French musicians to revive and continue the great eighteenth-century preromantic opera. No composer trained in the nineteenth century could escape Romanticism, but French opera continued to be, nevertheless, the stronghold of the opposition to Berlioz and Wagner.

The Lyric Opera: Composers

Romanticism, plus an awakening nationalism, plus the opposition to Berlioz and Wagner, plus the inescapable foreign influences, produced eventually in France a new type of opera best known as lyric opera. The men who took part in this development all produced music which is quite distinctly French and which indicates the increasing vitality of the French School. Of this group the following men, whose productive periods extended across the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, deserve mention: Félicien David (1810-1876), Charles Ambroise Thomas (1811-1896), Charles Francis Gounod (1818-1893), Ernest Reyner (1823-1909), Edward Lalo (1823-1892), Camille Saint-Saëns (1835-1921), Leo Delibes (1836-1891), Georges Bizet (1838-1875), Jules Massenet (1842-1912).

David, after a long journey in the Orient, brought to his composition a familiarity with a strange musical idiom. His operas are now unfamiliar, but they had some popularity during his lifetime because of the exoticism which resulted from his choice of Oriental subjects and musical idioms.

Thomas, after a period of study in Italy, produced many works for both Parisian theaters. His *Mignon* (1866) is still performed, although it is known chiefly through the popularity of its overture and its soprano solo as concert numbers.

Gounod was a pupil of Halévy and Lesueur. His early interests were largely in the direction of religious music. Strongly influenced by both Schumann and Berlioz, he later turned to the theater. The diverse influences which formed his style are all evident in his greatest work, an operatic setting of Goethe's *Faust* (1859). It is a French opera which achieved what then seemed almost impossible, a success in Germany. After the partial failure of his last opera, *Le tribut de Zamora* (1881), Gounod turned to his early interest in religious music and produced several Masses and oratorios among which must be named *The Redemption*, written in 1882 for performance in England.

Reyer began his musical education as a dilettante. From early youth until 1848 he resided in Algiers, and not until his return to France after 1848, with his mind full of musical impressions of Africa, did he turn to a musical career. Reyers was a romanticist and colorist whose natural tendencies caused him to follow both Berlioz and David. His most important works were the operas *Sigurd* (1884) and *Salammbô* (1900).

Lalo is known as a composer for the stage chiefly through the opera *Le roi d'Ys* (1888) and the ballet *Namouna*.

Saint-Saëns holds a peculiar place in the history of music. Equipped with immense powers of stylistic assimilation, he seems never to have achieved a style of his own. Despite that fact he is an important figure in the development of modern French music; he was less interested in dramatic music than in other forms. His Biblical drama, *Samson et Dalila* (1877), is his best work for the stage.

Delibes is known for the ballet *Coppélia* (1870) and the opera *Lakmé* (1883).

Bizet was the composer of several unsuccessful operas before he composed *Carmen* (1875). Even *Carmen* was received so coldly at first that the disappointment over it is said to have contributed to Bizet's early death. *Carmen* now stands in a class by itself, a work of the first rank, and undoubtedly one of the greatest operas written in France.

In the operas of Massenet, most important of which are *Hérodiade* (1881), *Manon* (1884), *Werther* (1886), and *Thaïs*

(1894), the lyric French theater found its most characteristic works.

England: Balfe

At no time since the seventeenth century has England produced an operatic composer of first rank. In Michael Balfe (1808-1870), of whose thirty operas only *The Bohemian Girl* stands out, England has an interesting composer of less than first rank, but perhaps equal in importance to some of the French and Italian composers whose names have been mentioned.

Light Opera

It has been shown how the comedy opera forms, the *opera commedia* in Italy, the *opéra comique* in France, the *Singspiel* in Germany, and the ballad opera in England, influenced the course of operatic development. All of them originated as popular forms of entertainment, and even after they had been dignified by the interest of serious composers, continued to exist as popular forms. During the last half of the nineteenth century at least three centers of Europe produced new popular varieties of the very old musical play; the *opéra bouffe* in Paris, the operetta in Vienna, and the light opera in London.

The most important figure in the history of lighter opera in France was Jacques Offenbach (1819-1880). Offenbach went from Cologne to Paris to become a member of the orchestra at the *Opéra comique*. In 1885 he became director of his own theater and in 1858 he migrated to the *Bouffes-Parisiens*, where he presented the light works which made him the lion of Parisian audiences. Offenbach's works created a new operatic form, the *opéra bouffe*, which attained an immense vogue. He was naturally despised by more serious musicians, and attempted to compose more seriously than the buffooneries of his own stage would permit. His last work, *Les contes d'Hoffmann*, performed after his death, was an attempt at a wholly serious work. Among his lighter works which are still heard are *Orphée aux enfers* (Orpheus in

Hades) (1858), *La belle Hélène* (1864), *La vie parisienne* (1866), and *Madame Favart* (1879).

With Offenbach at Paris must be associated the names of Friedrich von Flotow (1812-1883), the composer of *Alessandro Stradella* (1844) and *Martha* (1847), and Alexandre Lecocq (1832-1918).

Light opera in Vienna is closely connected with the waltz tradition, and centers around the Strauss family: Johann Strauss (senior, 1804-1849); Johann Strauss (junior, 1825-1899); composer of the famous waltzes and a large number of operettas of which *Die Fledermaus* and *Der Zigeunerbaron* are characteristic; Joseph Strauss (1827-1870), and Franz von Suppé (1819-1895).

In England two men, Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900) the musician, and W. S. Gilbert the satirist-poet, developed a type of light opera which has had an immense influence on the English and American stage. Sullivan was trained at the Royal Academy of Music and at the Leipzig Conservatory. He was successor to Bennett as professor of composition at the National Training School for Music. He composed incidental music to many of Shakespeare's plays, but the light operas which he composed to Gilbert's texts form the basis of his popularity. *Trial by Jury*, *The Sorcerer*, *H.M.S. Pinafore*, *The Pirates of Penzance*, *Patience*, *Iolanthe*, *Princess Ida*, *The Mikado*, *Ruddigore*, *The Yeoman of the Guard*, and many others are delightfully humorous and remarkably well-constructed works. His most ambitious project, *Ivanhoe*, an attempt to compose an English grand opera, was a failure.

Light opera and operetta, as by-products of the romantic opera, require little but passing notice. It is altogether possible, however, that serious music historians of a century hence will find in them the immediate precursors of a musical form that in the year 2000 will have vast importance—a kind of sound-picture musical play.

Readings

Francis Toye
 Franz Werfel
 F. Bonavia
 Wakeling Dry
 Watson Lyle
 D. C. Parker
 Charles Gounod
 Arthur Laurence
 Jules Massenet
 Arthur Hervey

Arthur W. Locke

D. G. Mason
 Romain Rolland
 E. B. Hill
 Laurence Gilman

H. E. Krehbiel
 J. A. Fuller-Maitland
 J. H. Streatfeild
 Camille Bellaigue

Giuseppe Verdi: His Life and Works
Verdi
Verdi
Giacomo Puccini
Camille Saint-Saëns
Georges Bizet: His Life and Works
Memoirs of an Artist
Sir Arthur Sullivan
My Recollections
Masters of French Music
French Music in the XIXth Century
Saint-Saëns
Music and the Romantic Movement in
France
From Grieg to Brahms
Musicians of Today
Modern French Music
Some Aspects of Modern Opera
Phases of Modern Music
A Second Book of Operas
English Music in the XIXth Century
Masters of Italian Music
Gounod

NINETEENTH-CENTURY
NATIONALISM*National Schools*

THE HISTORY of music during the nineteenth century cannot be completed without paying due attention to the rise of new national schools. One of the important political interests of the century before 1900 was in the establishment of national states; there followed more or less conscious attempts throughout Europe to achieve a national cultural unity. Music, as an important segment of culture, was subjected to this process of nationalization.

Unity of artistic endeavor, determined by such phenomena as geographical proximity, racial idioms, and common institutions, had long divided the music of Europe into national groups. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Germany and Italy each had an active and unbroken musical tradition which amounted to a national musical culture. England and France could look back to having had such a tradition, but it was now weakened by both the lack of great composers and the strength of imported foreign traditions. No other country in Europe had yet produced a group of creative musicians whose work had the necessary vitality to deserve consideration. During the nineteenth century, however, both England and France consciously began the recultivation of music on a national basis, and the Scandinavian countries and Russia developed important groups of composers. Later in the century some of the central European nationalities, which failed to achieve political independence but whose music had already

attracted attention through the work of such men as Chopin and Liszt, produced musicians whose works dignified the national idioms.

England

In March, 1800, Haydn's *Creation* was performed in London. The English had no work by a British composer to compare with it, except as they considered Handel one of their own. From 1830 to 1860, the years covered by Henry Chorley's *Thirty Years' Musical Recollections*, London's leading music critic makes no mention of English musicians, except as certain English vocalists appeared on the stage at the Royal Italian Opera. London had opera, concerts, symphony societies, music schools, but its whole musical tradition was devoted to foreign music.

Early Nineteenth-Century Composers

During the first half of the century a small group of English composers was largely concerned with religious music. Among them must be mentioned Samuel Wesley (1766-1837), Charles Wesley (1757-1834), and Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-1876). Samuel Sebastian Wesley composed many remarkable anthems for the service of the English church. F. A. Gore-Ouseley (1825-1889) also belongs with this group. It must be remarked, in connection with the church composers, that they alone were continuing an ancient musical tradition. The anthems and glees of the early nineteenth century were the products of the same tradition that produced the motets and madrigals of the sixteenth century. But the art of music had progressed to the point where a talented musician had little claim to greatness through compositions in such small forms.

As members of a group of composers who were prominent at the middle of the century might be mentioned Henry Smart (1813-1879), George A. Macfarren (1813-1887), and William Sterndale Bennett (1816-1875). Of these Bennett was the most talented and important; he received the title of "the English

Mendelssohn" because of the powerful influence which that composer exerted on him. His English contemporaries considered Bennett the greatest English composer since Purcell. He was not, however, great enough to throw off the dominance of a foreign composer and advance the cause of an English national music.

A Renaissance in English Music

During the last half of the nineteenth century English musicians developed a desire to re-establish a vital English school. That desire was responsible for a renaissance of English music. Unfortunately, no great genius could be found around whom the movement could center. But a group of composers, born near the middle of the century, was responsible for an immensely increased creative activity. Aside from their importance in marking a musical revival in England, they represent historically a trend of Romanticism toward the use of classical forms. No small part of their endeavors was spent in making scholarly studies of England's musical past, including not only art music but folk music. The historical studies and researches of the group have added vastly to our understanding of England's past musical greatness.

Composers of the Renaissance

John Stainer (1840-1901), who held the post of organist at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, is best known as the composer of the Easter Passion, *The Crucifixion* (1887). John Frederick Bridge (1844-1924), organist at Westminster Abbey, composed many hymns, cantatas, and oratorios and edited many of the motets of Orlando Gibbons. Alexander Campbell Mackenzie (1847-1935), Director of the Royal Academy of Music and for a time conductor of the Philharmonic Society, has composed much chamber music, several cantatas, and many symphonic poems. Charles H. H. Parry (1848-1918), Professor and Director at the Royal College of Music, was not only an important composer, but an outstanding writer in the field of music history. His im-

portant compositions include several large choral works and much instrumental music. Other members of the group were Arthur Goring Thomas (1851-1892), a composer of some lovely choral works, Frederic H. Cowen (1852-1935), who has composed instrumental and choral music, of which latter a cantata, *The Rose Maiden* (1870), maintains its popularity, and Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924), a remarkably fertile composer whose works range through the whole category of musical forms.

Edward Elgar

The most important composer of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England is undoubtedly Edward Elgar (1857-1933). Elgar's *The Dream of Gerontius* (1900) satisfied the English desire for an oratorio that would be equal to those of the foreign composers whose works have so long predominated. His orchestral music and many of his lesser choral works mark him as the great composer of England since the time of Purcell. His music has entered more fully into the repertoire of English choral and instrumental concerts than that of any other English composer.

English nationalism has been carried into the twentieth century by a group of composers who, although they have not always been in the vanguard of modernism, have nevertheless made important contributions to musical literature. Granville Bantock (1868-1946), Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872), Gustav Holst (1874-1934), and Arnold Bax (1883) are the important representatives of this group.

Conscious and Unconscious Nationalism

The attempt, on the part of English composers, to assimilate their own folk music and thus consciously create a national art, gained some momentum and seemed for a time to be convincing. It at least demonstrated the difference between *conscious* nationalism and the *unconscious* nationalism of the Germans and Italians.

Some doubt, however, remains. It is possible that no other nationalism is valuable—or desirable—except the unconscious, which springs from fundamental racial characteristics, and accounts for the differences between the folk arts of racial groups. Consciously to cultivate a national idiom is to court the danger of artificiality.

The Scandinavian Countries: Gade

During the nineteenth century the appearance of a talented composer from a land that had hitherto been sterile of important creative artists was inevitably the sign for more or less excited talk on the subject of nationalism. The Dane, Niels W. Gade (1817-1890), was such a composer. He received his early training in Denmark, and came to Leipzig for the first time for a performance of an overture that had won a prize in Copenhagen. In Leipzig he met and was influenced by Mendelssohn and Schumann. After Mendelssohn's death Gade was for a short time Director of the Gewandhaus concerts, but he returned in 1848 to Denmark where he was received as the great representative of Danish music.

Gade's works include eight symphonies and much other instrumental and choral music. Those who wish to make his acquaintance are advised to examine the melodious trio for piano, violin and violoncello, opus 42. Gade's nationalism is only faintly evident; he must be looked upon as artistically related to Mendelssohn, but as a man of much less genius than his model.

Edvard Grieg

The group of composers who attracted attention later in the nineteenth century were much more virile nationalists than either Gade or the English. Of these Edvard Grieg (1843-1907) was the most important. After his early training in Norway and Germany, Grieg became convinced that he and his northern contemporaries were obligated, by their relation to a culture which had found only local musical expression, to become the leaders in a new Scandinavian School. They abjured Gade and

his weak mixture of Scandinavian idiom with Mendelssohnianism, and set out to break a path of their own.

It is doubtful if Grieg's musical idiom could have been anything else but Scandinavian, whether he wished it or not. He was a nationalist both by choice and by necessity. What was more important, he was a composer of undoubted talent and his music attracted almost immediate attention. Just how much of Grieg's poetic-lyric quality and striking harmonic mannerism is racial, and how much personal, is impossible to determine. His music, however, carries the mark of an individuality that makes Grieg one of the important late-romantic composers.

Grieg is best known through his incidental music to Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* and through the piano concerto in A minor, opus 16. His works include much chamber music, numerous short pieces for piano, and many songs. Because of his songs Grieg deserves an important place among the nineteenth-century composers of the art song.

Among other Scandinavian composers who have written music that has been heard beyond the boundaries of their own countries must be mentioned Emil Sjögren (1853-1918) of Sweden and Ludwig Schytte (1850-1909) of Denmark.

Jan Sibelius (1865) has called attention, in a striking manner, to the somber musical background which Finland offers a composer of genius. His best-known work, the tone poem *Finlandia*, which is, however, hardly representative, has been heard throughout the Western world. Sibelius' works are difficult to classify because of the intensely personal idiom which finds expression in them. Sibelius seems to keep himself aloof from the more popular musical trends, but his eight symphonies display a musicianship and imagination that can hardly be finally evaluated by his contemporaries. Sibelius is undoubtedly one of the great composers of the twentieth century.

Armas Järnefelt (1869) and Selim Palmgren (1878) deserve passing mention as products of the Finnish national movement.

Bohemia: Smetana and Dvořák

Although Bohemia had long been a subject territory, Bohemians had retained their own racial culture. During the nineteenth century two important composers, Frederick Smetana (1824-1884) and Anton Dvořák (1841-1904), attempted to give musical expression to that culture.

Smetana may be credited with having laid the foundation of a national Bohemian musical art. During his early years conditions were such that his true musical interests, which were intensely patriotic, had to be pursued with great secrecy. But in 1860 Smetana received permission to return to Prague with larger freedom of expression. Like the English composers, Smetana believed that his most valuable source of inspiration was the folk song of his race. He felt, too, that some process of assimilation was necessary before folk idioms could be truthfully applied to art music. In his earlier important works (largely operas, of which *The Bartered Bride* is the best known) Smetana used poetical subjects which legitimized the use of folk idioms. In the later symphonic poems, which show clearly the influence of Liszt's methods, Smetana created music which is truly national in spirit, but which does not depend for its material upon borrowings from folk music. The composer had learned to think in racial idioms, a feat more difficult than it sounds because he had to unlearn the German idioms in which he had been trained. Smetana also composed many smaller works for the piano, and chamber music which includes the very important string quartet entitled "Aus meinem Leben."

Anton Dvořák was a peasant who acquired his musical training with great hardship. Among his early works were the *Slavonic Dances* which attracted immediate attention outside of Bohemia. His vogue was such that aside from his operas, which are hardly heard outside of Bohemia, he wrote cantatas and oratorios for performance at English festivals, and was for a time active in New York where he had come to direct the National Conservatory (1892-1895).

Owing perhaps to his cosmopolitan experience, Dvořák's interest in folk music as a basis for a national art was not confined to his own country. During his stay in America H. T. Burleigh, the American Negro composer, interested him in Negro music; that interest was responsible for a string quartet based on themes of Negro character, and the symphony *From the New World*.

Dvořák was a well-trained musician, well aware of the vast progress in the use of musical materials which had been made by composers of other lands. He was a master of the use of orchestral color; the familiar *New World* symphony demonstrates his ability to mold the classical form to highly individual use.

Poland

Without contributing any composers of first rank after Chopin, Poland maintained throughout the nineteenth century a tradition which was not altogether devoid of national characteristics. The violinist Henri Wieniawski (1835-1880) has written concert pieces and concertos which are important in the special field of virtuoso violin literature. Louis Philipp Scharwenka (1847-1917), Moritz Moszkowski (1854-1925), and Ignace Jan Paderewski (1860-1941) have all contributed in more or less degree to an interest in Polish music and musicians.

Spain

Throughout the nineteenth century composers of other nations felt the charm of Spanish folk music, as witness the *Carmen* of Bizet and the *Symphonie espagnole* of Lalo. During the last quarter of the century Spain herself produced composers of genuine greatness who based much of their work on the exploitation of their own musical heritage. Among them must be listed Felipe Pedrell (1841-1922), Isaak Albeniz (1861-1909), whose suite, *Iberia*, was an epoch-making work, Enrique Granados (1867-1916), and Manuel de Falla (1876-1946), whose ballet, *El Sombrero de tres picos* [*The Three Cornered Hat* (1919)], written

for Diaghileff's Russian Ballet, showed an assimilation of Spanish folk music with modern twentieth-century tendencies.

France

The impetus which musical nationalism gave to creative activity was felt strongly in France, despite the fact that a musical tradition of long standing already existed there. At the beginning of the nineteenth century France not only was dominated by a musical culture that consisted, to its detriment, almost wholly of interest in opera, but the continuation of operatic composition was too largely in the hands of foreigners like Rossini and Meyerbeer.

Partly because he was sincerely interested in the restoration of a well-balanced national musical culture, and partly because the foreign domination made it difficult for him to get a sympathetic hearing for his own works, Berlioz, in his journalistic capacity, distributed a large amount of nationalistic propaganda. He was, however, unsuccessful in arousing a great deal of interest; not until it was too late to profit Berlioz did French musicians begin to be conscious of their limitations in this regard.

By 1860 the French composers David, Thomas, Reyher, Bizet, and Gounod had attracted some attention to a new school of French opera, but it was not until the versatile talent of Saint-Saëns made itself fully felt that the French began to hope for a school of composers who, while retaining their characteristically French clarity of purpose, would take advantage of all of the forms and technics which were available. After the Franco-Prussian War (1870) the ideals of the French School became even clearer: French composers could and must produce music in all forms that would take its place beside the great music of any other musical nation. They wished to disabuse the world of the idea that Germany alone could produce a great musical art.

Saint-Saëns: Instrumental Music

In Saint-Saëns, French music had a composer whose technical equipment was of the first rank. Saint-Saëns mastered every form and every style. Although he was French, he was cosmopolitan. His instrumental music—symphonies, symphonic poems, concertos for various instruments and orchestra, and much chamber music—had the immediate effect of broadening the horizon of French music. By successfully competing with German musicians on their own ground, he gave heart to other Frenchmen who wished to do likewise.

That Saint-Saëns actually did successfully compete with German instrumental composers is a matter, however, about which there seems to be increasing doubt. His symphonic music showed mastery of form, he wrote brilliantly for instruments, his facility for assimilating all the influences by which he was surrounded was enormous, but posterity is inclined to question whether he had anything to say. Posterity, at such a short distance from Saint-Saëns' death, may be wrong. But right or wrong, there is no question about the importance of Saint-Saëns' influence on the development of French music. He wrote, in 1885, referring to a situation that he had helped to cure: "Not so long ago, perhaps fifteen years, a French composer who had the audacity to try his fortunes in the field of instrumental music, had no other means of getting his works played than to give a concert himself, and invite his friends and the critics to it. As for the public, the real public, they were not to be considered; the name of a composer, at once French and living, printed on a poster had the effect of putting everyone to flight."¹ Saint-Saëns himself had felt the influence of Wagner; many of his younger contemporaries, despite the fact that they had strong anti-German feelings, were unable to disregard Wagner. A discussion of French music during the last three decades of the nineteenth century must take for granted the Wagnerian influence. Wagner's genius colored the work of a whole generation of younger composers, and while it

¹ Camille Saint-Saëns, *Harmonie et Mélodie*, p. 207.

must be recognized that, as servile imitators of Wagner, the French were at their worst, their best works would have betrayed a far different physiognomy had Wagner never lived.

Two French Groups

In viewing the past from the perspective of the present it is clearly discernible that the period through which Saint-Saëns lived gradually saw two distinct groups of composers arise in France. The influence of both groups has extended into the twentieth century, but the personalities around which each gathered were distinctly of the nineteenth. César Franck (1822-1890) was the leader of one wing of French music; Emmanuel Chabrier (1841-1894) and Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924) were the leaders of the other.

César Franck

César Franck was a Belgian, born at Liège, where he began his early musical education. As a student at the Paris Conservatory he received the first prize in piano in 1838 and in organ in 1841. In 1843 he settled in Paris as a music teacher and from 1859 until his death he was organist at the church of St. Clotilde. He devoted himself entirely to his pupils, his organ, and his composition. His artistic ideals were such that he continued his creative work, whether it received the approbation of the public or not. More often than not his works were indifferently received, but the lack of public appreciation did not prevent him from exercising so strong an influence on his pupils that before his death a "Franck" school was a definite part of French musical life.

César Franck's compositions are not numerous, which is, perhaps, one of the reasons why he is not considered one of the giants of the nineteenth century. When it is realized that all of his great works were the products of the last twenty years of his life, and that nearly every one takes its place among the masterpieces in its form, it is hardly necessary to detract from Franck's greatness on the score that he composed too little.

Franck was an organist, a deeply religious man, and a sincere admirer of Bach. He was a romanticist, but had the interest in the classic forms which led to their modification for romantic purposes. The exceedingly lyric quality of his melody is sufficient indication of his French character, while the fact that he was a revolutionist in his use of harmony indicates that the advances of the great Germans were not lost on him. From all of these qualities he evolved a musical style that is intensely personal and remarkably expressive. It cannot be said of Franck, as it has been said of Saint-Saëns, that he had nothing to say; he had a message that was in contrast to that of most of the men of his age, and he pronounced it with distinction.

Franck's works naturally include music for the organ, but not as much as might be expected, probably because of his capacity for extemporization. Aside from early compositions which display an immature composer, the works for piano solo number only two: the *Prélude, choral, et fugue* (1884) and the *Prélude, aria, et finale* (1886). Franck wrote only three chamber works: the quintet in F minor for piano and string quartet (1879), the sonata in A major, for piano and violin (1886), and the string quartet in D major (1889). The symphonic works include four symphonic poems, the symphony in D minor (1886) and the *Variations symphoniques* for piano and orchestra (1885). Franck wrote two operas, *Hulda* (1885) and *Ghisèle*, the latter left unfinished at his death. Among his choral works the oratorio *Les béatitudes*, which engaged his attention for ten years before 1879, stands out as an undoubted masterpiece.

The Cyclical Form

For a romanticist of Franck's type the sonata form was primarily a group of movements for which the classical formula of internal structure and sequence had largely lost its value, but which offered possibilities for unified expression carried through all the movements. Franck, in his desire to attain such a unity of utterance, adopted a procedure which has come to be called the cyclical form. Externally it consists simply in a transfer of

subject matter from one movement to another. The method was not new, having been used by Schumann and Brahms among others, but Franck employed it so successfully that it has been connected with him almost as though he originated it. It may be looked upon as a modification, to meet the demands of absolute music, of the mottolike value of Wagner's leading motive, and Liszt's theme transformation.

César Franck's pupils inherited from their master a strong and vital tradition. Franck's works, much more than those of Saint-Saëns, made instrumental music a legitimate and important aspect of French musical art. Those pupils played, and are still playing, an important part in the musical development of France. Through them French music is becoming more and more a force in the development of the world's music.

Among the important pupils of Franck, some of whom will be mentioned in connection with the twentieth-century developments, were Vincent d'Indy (1851-1932), Ernest Chausson (1855-1899), Henri Duparc (1848-1933), Guy Ropartz (1864), Gabriel Pierné (1863-1937), and Guillaume Lekeu (1870-1894) whose beautiful sonata in G for violin and piano brought with it a promise canceled by Lekeu's early death.

Chabrier and Fauré

The work of the group related to Chabrier and Fauré, although at many points not distinguishable from that of Franck and his followers, leads so directly to many of the artistic conceptions now current near the middle of the twentieth century that it is difficult to assess accurately either its effect or final value.

Emmanuel Chabrier (1841-1894) did not devote himself professionally to music until 1880. Consequently his lack of thorough technical training had to be compensated by intense energy and compelling inspiration. Chabrier said of himself: "I am virtually self-taught, I belong to no school. I had more temperament than talent. There are many things which one must learn in youth which I shall never reach; but I live and breathe in music, I write as I feel with more temperament than technic, but what is the difference—I think I am an honest and sincere artist."

Coming as he did when Romanticism had almost run its course, and when the whole aesthetic of musical art was in a state of flux, Chabrier's few works—the orchestral rhapsody, *España*, an opera, *Gwendoline*, a light opera, *Le roi malgré lui*, and some smaller works—displayed a sensitiveness to literary stimulus, a freedom from the restrictions of tradition, and an exuberance of imagination that struck the keynote for a new phase of artistic evolution.

Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924) began his musical study at Niedermeyer's School of Religious Music at the age of nine. As organist of Notre Dame, St. Sulpice, and the Madeleine, and as professor of composition and later director of the *Conservatoire*, he took a leading part in French music. His compositions include operas, choral works, and chamber music, and many beautiful songs.

Fauré was, unlike Chabrier, a composer whose revolt against tradition was formulated into definite artistic principles. He disliked the melodic heterogeneity that was characteristic of so much romantic music; in consequence he evolved a type of melodic counterpoint which allowed a reconciliation of modern harmony with striking lyricism. Undoubtedly Fauré belongs, as a melodist, with Alessandro Scarlatti and Berlioz.

Because Fauré lived until 1924, he was able to watch many of the important developments of "modernism." His continued youthfulness is proved by the way in which he assimilated many of the revolutionary tendencies which were current. His influence, due not only to the example of his music and teaching, but also to the convictions which his pupils are transmitting to a still younger generation, has been enormous.

French nationalism in music developed slowly and did not reach a culmination during the nineteenth century. But before 1900 it had brought together elements which, though still largely of interest and value only within the boundaries of France, were destined to produce an intensely vital musical activity in Paris, and to exert an inescapable influence on the composers of other countries.

Readings

J. A. Fuller-Maitland

Charles Willeby

Charles L. Graves

R. J. Buckley

Ernest Newman

H. T. Finck

Cecil Gray

Vincent d'Indy

J. F. Porte

Carl Van Vechten

W. H. Hadow

E. B. Hill

D. G. Mason

Cecil Forsyth

Arthur Elson

Romain Rolland

Arthur Hervey

Camille Saint-Saëns

Charles Koechlin

William Ritter

Philippe Fauré-Fremiet

Music of the Nineteenth Century
*English Music in the XIXth Century**Masters of English Music**Hubert Parry: His Life and Works**Sir Edward Elgar**Elgar**Grieg and His Music**Edvard Grieg**Sibelius**César Franck**Sir Edward Elgar**Sir Charles Stanford**The Music of Spain**Studies in Modern Music**Modern French Music**From Grieg to Brahms**Music and Nationalism**Modern Composers of Europe**Musicians of Today**French Music in the XIXth Century**Outspoken Essays on Music**Gabriel Fauré**Smetana**Gabriel Fauré*

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RUSSIA

Contributing Forces

DURING the nineteenth century Russia was the scene of a remarkable musical development. Partly Oriental, and to a large degree isolated by barriers of language and geographical location, Russia had made virtually no contribution to Western musical art, when suddenly, within the space of a century, she took a leading place in the musical world. Such a phenomenon is to be explained in terms of the impact of a highly developed musical tradition on a culture which was fundamentally musical.

Two distinct streams of musical activity are to be traced in "old" Russia. The first is the music of the Greek Church which, before the schism which separated the Byzantine and Latin churches, was the same for both branches. That tradition of religious music was as old and of the same parentage as the music of the Roman Church which contributed so much to the foundations of Western music. The history of its evolution would undoubtedly make as interesting a story as the history of the development of music in western Europe; it must, for the present, be told with the same lack of detail as the Biblical account of Cain's wife.

The second was an immensely rich and varied folk music. Russia for centuries had been an arbitrary unification of the most heterogeneous racial groups, each with its own folk music. All of these groups, however, were Russian, and all colored the national culture which was developing as a result of the quickening contacts with western Europe.

The impact of music from the West began to make itself felt during the eighteenth century and was principally due to the appearance, in the royal theaters, of operatic troupes from Italy. Galuppi was in Russia from 1743 to 1748, and returned to St. Petersburg as chapelmaster to Catherine the Great from 1765 to 1768. Cimarosa visited Russia in 1788, and Felice Giardini died in Moscow in 1796 after seven years of operatic ventures in Russia. The interest in Western music which is indicated by this partial list of Italian musicians who were invited to Russia was at first confined to the ruling class, but it gradually resulted in a desire on the part of all talented Russians to become familiar with the technics, methods, and idioms which were being imported.

Bortniansky

Evidences of more or less independent creative activity began to appear even before the end of the eighteenth century. Dimitri Bortniansky (1751-1825), after some training in Italy under Galuppi, returned to St. Petersburg as director of choral music in the Royal Chapel. The operas he composed as a result of his contact with Italy are unimportant, but much of his choral music is the work of a great composer conscious of the magnificent wealth which lay buried in the musical traditions of his own race.

Glinka and Dargomijski

The first attempt to use Russian legendary material for opera was, curiously enough, made by an otherwise unimportant Venetian composer, Catterino Cavos (1776-1840), who resided in Russia. This was followed by attempts on the part of Russians who were vaguely aware, like Bortniansky, of their racial background, but who were largely unable to break with the strong Italian influences to which they were subjected. Nevertheless, it is fair to regard Michael Ivanovitch Glinka (1804-1857) as the founder of Russian opera, and indirectly as the composer who gave the first impetus to Russian national music. His two operas, *A Life for the Tzar* and *Ruslan and Ludmilla* were its first important products.

The disastrous invasion of Russia by Napoleon early in the century had been the spark which fired a conscious cultural nationalism. The results were not immediate, but the reaction against foreign artistic dictation produced a remarkable activity in all the arts—an activity concerned with the exploration of purely Russian art resources. Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenieff, and Dostoevski represented the movement in the field of literature, and Alexander Dargomijski (1813-1869) was its foremost musical representative. Despite the independence of men like Dargomijski, however, an important group of Russian musicians still felt a need for the instruction which musicians of western Europe had to offer. Thus, in the middle of the century, a clear division took place within Russia between composers who, on the one side, wished to create a distinctly Russian musical art and who, on the other side, felt the need for contacts with western Europe. The rivalry between the two groups—with men of genius on both sides—made the last half of the nineteenth century a period of remarkable creative activity in Russia.

"The Five"

Dargomijski was the link in an artistic chain which connected Glinka to the group known as "The Five." The men who formed that group were composers of varying talents, bound together by a lack of orthodox professional training and an overpowering interest in a Russian national musical art. As a basis for such nationalism they felt music needed to be stripped of the artificialities which had grown up around it in western Europe—that simplicity and truth must be substituted for the intellectual qualities which had come to predominate since the time of Beethoven.

The members of "The Five" were Mily Balakirev (1837-1910), César Cui (1835-1918), Alexander Borodin (1834-1887), Nikolas Rimsky-Korsakoff (1844-1908), and Modeste Moussorgsky (1835-1881).

Balakirev

Balakirev was first attracted to music while he was a student at the University of Kazan. Although he began his serious study of music rather late, he was more nearly a professionally trained musician than any other member of the group. In 1855, when he appeared in St. Petersburg as a pianist, he gained the admiration of both Glinka and Dargomijski for his early compositions and was immediately accepted as one of the leaders of the young Russian School. In 1862 he founded the Free School of Music, and became the purveyor of ideals and inspiration to the other members of "The Five" who gathered around him. His important works include the music to *King Lear* (1858-1861) for orchestra, the symphonic poems *Tamara* and *En Bobème*, two symphonies, and numerous works for orchestra and piano. Among the piano works the Oriental fantasy *Islamey* is best known.

Cui

César Cui was a professor of military science at St. Petersburg, an officer in the Russian army, and an author of several military textbooks. In music he was an amateur, a pupil of Balakirev. Although the titles of his works, chiefly operas, make a long list, his importance as a member of "The Five" was not his activity as a composer, but as a journalist. He defended the young Russians with his pen, both at home and abroad, and his articles were responsible for much of the attention which the group received. His writings, too, were instrumental in attracting Russians to the music of Schumann, Berlioz, and Liszt.

Borodin

Borodin was a professor of medicine and chemistry. Endowed with a remarkable musical talent, he remained an amateur, and was persuaded to compose only with difficulty by the other members of the group. His works include three symphonies, the

third completed by Glazounoff, a symphonic poem, *On the Steppes of Central Asia*, two string quartets, and the opera, *Prince Igor*, completed by Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazounov. Borodin, despite his reluctance to compose, was a master. His command of the orchestra and the realism of his musical conceptions make his works, few as they are, stand out as important contributions to that part of the nineteenth-century music which was to give direction to the future.

Rimsky-Korsakov

Rimsky-Korsakov was an officer in the Russian navy, for a time inspector of military bands. His first symphony—the first symphony to be composed by a Russian—was completed while he was a midshipman on a world tour with the Russian fleet. It was performed in 1865 by the orchestra of Balakirev's Free School. From 1871 until his death, Rimsky-Korsakov was professor of orchestration and free composition at the St. Petersburg conservatory, a position which, to the dismay of his friends of "The Five," connected him with the institution of the opposition. Nevertheless, this position gave him an invaluable connection with such younger men as Stravinsky, whose work was to transmit the ideals of "The Five" into the twentieth century.

Rimsky-Korsakov, as much as any other member of his group, turned to Russian sources for his inspiration. He was a master of orchestral color, of a new and expressive harmonic idiom, and his music exhibits a richly lyric and pictorial imagination. Despite the exuberance of his fancy, he was a sound musician; even in his programmatic music, literary and pictorial allusion did not displace the unifying power of scholarly musical treatment. His compositions include the orchestral works *Sadko*, a *Serbian Fantasy*, *Antar*, *Russian Easter*, and *Scheherazade*, besides three symphonies. He composed fifteen operas, which contain much of his finest music, based largely on Russian folk tales. Among them are *The Snow Maiden* (1882), *Mlada* (1892), *The May Night* (1880), *Sadko* (1897), *Mozart and Salieri* (1898), *The Czar's Bride* (1899), *The Golden Cockerel* (1908).

Rimsky-Korsakov was the most active member of his group. His influence, both on the music of his own country and on the direction of music in general, cannot be overemphasized. The synthesis of new tendencies with old technic which usually follows a revolutionary break with tradition (such as characterized the first decades of "The Five") is evident in Rimsky-Korsakov's work. Before his death the two Russian parties had been reconciled. His music carried the message of Russian nationalism abroad; its vitality assured it a wide hearing.

Moussorgsky

Moussorgsky was by profession a soldier; even after he had taken up music under the guidance of Cui and Balakirev he found it necessary to continue as a government clerk in order to earn a living. As a musician Moussorgsky was perhaps the one great genius of his group. With more genius and less training than any other of "The Five," he came closer to achieving their artistic ideals than did the others. Moussorgsky has been called a realist, but his realism was based upon a concept which differentiates it from the realism to be met in western Europe. Eaglefield Hull has defined Moussorgsky's artistic ideals in the following words: "For him music must be a faithful reflection of *life*, without variation, without expansion, and without embellishment." His youthful acquaintance with the musical idioms of the folk and the Russian Church, together with his constant desire to express dramatic ideas with absolute simplicity and directness, make his opera, *Boris Godounov* (performed in 1874), the finest exemplification of Russian nationalism. *Boris* is one of the great operas of the nineteenth century, and its power has made it increasingly influential, particularly since it has been made available in its original form (for years it was heard only in a version more or less "prettified" by Rimsky-Korsakoff).

Moussorgsky's other works include the orchestral poem *A Night on the Bare Mountain*, the operas *Khovanstchina* and *The Marriage Broker*, and many powerful songs, of which the cycles *In*

the Nursery, Sunless, and Songs and Dances of Death must be mentioned.

The Importance of "The Five"

It has taken the musical world some time to understand and assimilate the work of "The Five." Many of their works are still unknown outside of Russia. To them nationalism was more important than the Romanticism which they might have imported; consequently their artistic ideals had little connection with the cycles of western European musical development but were, on the contrary, grounded in the character and idiom of the Russian folk. Their absolute directness of method, with its insistence on the reality of the folk function of music, came as a revelation to German and French musicians who were beginning to tire of Romanticism, and who in their weariness were beginning to wonder what to do next.

Western Influence: The Rubinstein

The opposition to "The Five," had it not produced one composer of outstanding merit, would hardly deserve mention. The two brothers, Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894) and Nicholas Rubinstein (1835-1881), were the leaders in a movement which founded conservatories of the orthodox type at St. Petersburg and Moscow. Anton Rubinstein was one of the great pianists of the period, and a gifted composer. As director of the St. Petersburg conservatory he was anxious to make available to Russian students the thorough musical training which Russia had not previously been able to afford. He was also anxious to break the hold on Russian music of the men whom he disdainfully called "pernicious amateurs." Nicholas Rubinstein was a more capable teacher than his elder brother, and as Director of the Moscow Conservatory was responsible for a remarkable quickening of the musical life of that city. But his influence, too, was exerted toward a cosmopolitan rather than a national musical growth.

Tchaikovsky

Peter Ilyitch Tchaikovsky (1840-1893) was the genius whose connection with the Rubinssteins separated him from the sympathy of "The Five," and made him representative of the more cosmopolitan aspect of nineteenth-century Russian musical development. Tchaikovsky had reached manhood when he decided to devote himself to a musical career. He had already attended law school and had occupied a post in one of the government offices. He was a member of the first graduating class of Anton Rubinstein's new conservatory; Rubinstein had been his teacher in composition. In 1866 he went to Moscow as instructor at the school directed by Nicholas Rubinstein. Owing to a nervous difficulty following an exceedingly unfortunate marriage, Tchaikovsky left his position at Moscow. For the rest of his life he was able to devote himself completely to composition, having been granted a pension by a wealthy patron. During his last years he appeared as conductor of his own works all over Europe and in New York City.

Tchaikovsky's works cover a wide range. The best known are the *Manfred* symphony, the three last symphonies, number 4 in F minor, opus 36 (1877), number 5 in E minor, opus 64 (1888), number 6 in B minor, opus 74 [The "Pathétique" (1893)]; the *Nutcracker* ballet; the piano concerto in B \flat minor, opus 23 (1875), and the violin concerto in D major, opus 35 (1878). Numerous symphonic poems and operas, some chamber music, and not a little music for piano alone make up the bulk of Tchaikovsky's other works.

Patheticism

Tchaikovsky, almost half a century after his death, is one of the most interesting figures of the last half of the nineteenth century. Whether his influence has been good or bad, his music has been exceedingly popular, and continues, for most concert-goers, to cast a spell. That spell is the result of Tchaikovsky's

lyric genius, and his ability to use music as a vehicle for the expression of emotions which hearers not only quickly grasp but toward which they immediately feel a response. Tchaikovsky's music is most telling when it is expressing what might well be called *patheticism*. It is most successful when it depicts a man who is enjoying feeling sorry for himself. Nearly everyone, whether it is beneficial to his mental well-being or not, secretly indulges in and enjoys that experience.

For several decades many critics were not willing to grant that Tchaikovsky's characteristic expressive field was legitimate to art; they felt that even romantic artists must confine themselves to the expression of ideas and emotions which were at least healthy. The course of artistic development since Tchaikovsky's time has made that earlier critical position untenable. If it be allowed that great art consists more in the truth with which an artist accomplishes his aims than in the fundamental moral validity of those aims, then Tchaikovsky was a great artist. If such a postulate cannot be allowed, it must nevertheless be admitted that many of Tchaikovsky's works, even in his most "pathetic" manner, are sincere and intensely human documents. At least, Tchaikovsky was a successful romanticist.

Tchaikovsky and Russian Nationalism

An interesting question arises concerning the inclusion of Tchaikovsky in a chapter devoted to Russian nationalism. During his lifetime he was a cosmopolitan figure; he drew his inspiration and technical resources from German and French as well as from Russian sources; he was the personification of the opposition within Russia to the nationalistic ideals of "The Five"; he was, actually, an exponent of Western Romanticism in the Russian environment. The answer is to be found in an understanding of the very slight true difference which can exist between a conscious and an unconscious nationalist. "The Five" were consciously Russian; Tchaikovsky was none the less Russian because his nationalism was unconscious. The passage of time has already effected a perspective in which Tchaikovsky appears as much a Russian as his contemporaries who disliked his amenability to Western influence.

Russian musicians of the nineteenth century added a fresh approach to the already immense fund of musical resources. Gradually, and quite naturally, they succumbed to the overpowering value of Western technic. But their insistence that music must keep in touch with reality—that it was not only a symbol, but was real in the sense that folk art is real—gave an impetus to the development of musical art in a new direction. Of much greater importance than the academic question of artistic direction and aims is the fact that the Russians produced a great addition to musical literature—an addition which gave truthful artistic expression to a great race that had hitherto made no contribution to Western music.

Readings

Alexander M'Arthur
Anton Rubinstein
Rosa Newmarch
Modeste Tschaikowsky

Catherine Drinker Bowen
and Barbara von Meck
M. Montagu-Nathan

M. D. Calvocoressi
Oskar von Riesemann
N. A. Rimsky-Korsakoff
Alfred Habets
Arthur Pougin
Rosa Newmarch
Arthur Elson

Anton Rubinstein
Autobiography
Tschaikowsky
The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich
Tschaikowsky

"Beloved Friend"
Glinka
Moussorgsky
Rimsky-Korsakoff
A History of Russian Music
Mussorgsky
Moussorgsky
My Musical Life
Borodin and Liszt
A Short History of Russian Music
The Russian Opera
Modern Composers of Europe

THE DIFFUSION OF ROMANTICISM

FROM the perspective of the twentieth century it is increasingly evident that Romanticism reached its high point in Germany in the works of Brahms and Wagner. It is also clear that the tendencies of the last quarter of the nineteenth century were toward a diffusion of Romanticism—toward a breaking down of its ideals and principles into conformity both with the racial characteristics of diverse nationalities and with the desires of individual composers to be original. The process was most evident in Germany where the attempt was made to carry on the traditions which Brahms and Wagner had represented.

The Decline of German Romanticism

The men whose works marked the decline of Romanticism need, with few exceptions, only short notice. Their own personalities were to some extent submerged in a task which appears to have been impossible—that of reconciling Wagnerian methods with the forms and ideals of the symphonists who had followed Beethoven. Many of them have been singularly unfortunate in that their contributions to musical evolution have not had the opportunity to be judged altogether on merit; the march of musical events has been so rapid that they have been neglected. Most of them have composed remarkable music; some have made distinct contributions to musical literature. They may be listed as follows: Joseph Joachim Raff (1822-1882), Anton Bruckner (1824-1896), Joseph Rheinberger (1839-1901), Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), Hugo Wolf (1860-1903), Richard

Strauss (1864), Max von Schillings (1868-1933), Hans Pfitzner (1869), Max Reger (1873-1916).

Anton Bruckner

Anton Bruckner, an Austrian who lived most of his life in Vienna, was looked upon as the leader of the Wagnerian party after Wagner's death. In his attempt to develop new musical formulas by combining the external features of Wagner's music—the melodic and harmonic idioms—with the symphonic forms of Beethoven and Schubert, he composed nine symphonies which were held up in opposition to the works of Brahms. How successful he was can be finally decided only when the pendulum of artistic ideals swings back to an aesthetic that will be sympathetic to his aims. Formulas and artistic movements aside, however, much of Bruckner's music will repay close acquaintance, and in Germany, where his music is often heard, he is highly regarded.

Gustav Mahler

Gustav Mahler had a peculiar musical ancestry. He was influenced not only by Bruckner and Wagner, but also by Beethoven. His symphonies were composed on a grandiose scale which combined qualities of all of his models, and resulted in a form which might be called an epic-symphony. Only in his last works, of which *Das Lied von der Erde* is characteristic, did he achieve a terseness which conveys the impression of greatness. Like Bruckner, Mahler has suffered from a lack of interest in his works and, also like Bruckner, that lack of interest is due not so much to a weakness in the music as to the rapidly changing environment in which it was written.

Hugo Wolf

Wolf was a passionate admirer of Wagner and Bruckner. His one complete opera, the comedy *Der Corregidor* (1895), con-

tains much splendid music but lacks the dramatic element necessary to true operatic success. Wolf's genius found its true outlet in the art song. The "through-composed" song, the product of Romanticism, found in Wolf one of its greatest exponents. His fine discernment of the psychological values of the texts, and his genius in translating those values into poignant music place Wolf with Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms as a truly great composer of songs, many of which might be called "music dramas in miniature."

Max von Schillings

By no means a composer of the first rank, Schillings has been important as teacher and conductor. As a composer he began as a follower of Wagner with the opera *Ingwelde* (1894) but gradually broke away from Wagnerism in such works as *Mona Lisa* (1915). Schillings illustrates in a remarkable manner the powerful influence which Wagner exerted on his much younger contemporaries.

Hans Pfitzner

In the surroundings of the twentieth century, Pfitzner has maintained a sincere belief in the permanent truth of the aesthetics of the nineteenth century. He is a romanticist who might be imagined as a composite of Schumann and early Wagner. Composer of many songs, some chamber music, and several operas, his chief work is the opera *Palestrina* (1917).

Max Reger

Max Reger, until his premature death, was active not only as a composer but also as a teacher and conductor. His works, which include much music for organ, chorus, piano, orchestra, and chamber groups, are characterized by elaborate polyphony and complex chromatic harmony. With Reger the epic-symphony, making use of orchestra, chorus, and vocal soloists, grew to such

monumental proportions that performances have been few. Despite this handicap, however, Reger's music draws on such a broad stream of musical resources, from Bach-like polyphony to post-Wagnerian chromatic harmony, that it is truly representative of the musical insight of the German composer at the height of Germany's musical greatness.

Richard Strauss

Richard Strauss has been a great figure in the twentieth century, but his antecedents connect him so largely with the nineteenth that his work must be discussed here. As a young man Strauss was strongly opposed to Wagner, but in 1885, through his friendship with the poet Alexander Ritter, he became convinced of the validity of the methods and ideals of Berlioz, Liszt, and Wagner. Strauss must be looked upon, however, not only as a composer who sought to continue Wagner's methods in the field of opera, but also as a man whose interests were wide enough to include most of the musical forms of Romanticism. Strauss later expressed the feeling that the desire to begin where Wagner stopped must be buttressed by a profound acquaintance with all of pre-Wagnerian music. Thus Strauss was at home with the art song and the many forms of chamber music.

In the field of art song, Strauss' more than one hundred songs convey an emotional intensity which ranks them with the great songs of earlier composers. His chamber music, which makes an unlimited demand on the capacity of performers, shows Strauss to have shared the interests in intimate music which his predecessors had. The operas *Feuersnot*, *Salome*, *Elektra*, and *Der Rosenkavalier* show that, although Strauss was a follower of Wagner in such externals as the use of the leading motive, he developed a style of his own: florid melodically, exceedingly chromatic harmonically—a musical fabric which is astoundingly rich and colorful. It is brilliant music, composed with complete command of every technical facility. Those who are zealous for the integrity of Romanticism find elements in Strauss which are not always convincing, but his music has had an immense vogue, and must not be too lightly con-

demned because Strauss sometimes overreached the limits beyond which romantic realism may easily become artistic farce.

Strauss' works for symphony orchestra have been largely accepted as the consummation not only of the use of the grand orchestra as a musical instrument, but also of the aims of the romanticists with regard to the program-music genera. The symphonic poems are as follows:

Aus Italien (a program symphony), opus 16

Don Juan, opus 20 (1889)

Tod und Verklärung (Death and Transfiguration), opus 23 (1890)

Macbeth, opus 24 (1891)

Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche (The Merry Pranks of Till Eulenspiegel), opus 28 (1895)

Also sprach Zarathustra (Thus Spake Zarathustra), opus 30 (1896)

Don Quixote, opus 35 (1898)

Ein Heldenleben (A Hero's Life), opus 40 (1899)

Sinfonia domestica, opus 53 (1904)

Eine Alpensinfonie, opus 64 (1915)

In these works Strauss went beyond the conceptions of either Berlioz or Liszt, entering an artistic domain which can be given no other name than *realism*. But because Berlioz and Liszt have also been called realists, the use of the same term in connection with Strauss requires some explanation. The realism of Berlioz and Liszt was confined almost altogether to the legitimate expressive value of musical materials. The programs of their works could be translated into terms of emotions. With Strauss, however, musical materials were asked not only to depict emotions but to describe *particular* incidents and to paint *exact* pictures. The devices by which musical sounds could be made to imitate natural sounds were called upon, not for the purpose of indirectly producing an emotional reaction, but for their realistic interest. Not only human emotions, but also such things as the bleating of sheep before an attacking Don Quixote and the whistling of the wind around the windmills became the subject matter of musical creative effort. In defense of Strauss it may be said that he attempted, in all sincerity, to expand the boundaries of musical art and that the questions raised by his music are due not to his lack of mastery, but to the fact that his attempts led him into questionable territory.

The "Isms" of Change

The most striking proof of the fact that Romanticism was going through a process of diffusion just before the beginning of the twentieth century was the appearance of numerous other "isms" which described schools of musical aesthetic which were growing out of the parent Romanticism. We have seen that nationalism was an early outgrowth; in like manner *verismo* appeared in Italy, lyricism in France, and several different varieties of realism in Russia and Germany. When the process had once begun it gathered momentum: in France, Germany, and Russia new *isms* began to attract serious attention. The developments in France were of the utmost importance.

Soon after the middle of the century, French painting and literature began to break away from orthodox concepts. Painters rebelled against the "true to nature" principles which had long governed their art to such an extent that an artist like El Greco had been accused of astigmatism. Poets rebelled against the necessity of using words with regard to their dictionary meaning. In 1867 Claude Monet exhibited a revolutionary canvas which bore the title *Impression: soleil levant*. It was the artist's *impression* of the rising sun. From the title of this picture the term *Impressionism*, as a name for an artistic method, was derived. An impressionistic painter was not interested in photographically reproducing on canvas what his eye was able to see; he rather desired to present the image which grew in his mind as an answer to the fugitive impression transmitted to the mind by the eye. Many writers have attempted to define Impressionism. Walter Pater has said that it is "a vivid personal impression of a fugitive effect." Eaglefield Hull has written that, "technically, Impressionism is the concentration on one quality, to the comparative neglect of all the rest, thus giving a sense of vagueness, incompleteness, and mystery to the result." The new aesthetic of Impressionism thus produced, in the works of painters like Monet, Pissarro, and Renoir, a new technic; reinforced by the symbolism of such poets as Verlaine and Mallarmé it had a profound influence on at least one important French musician, Debussy.

Claude Achille Debussy (1862-1918) was a product of the Paris Conservatory who won the *Prix de Rome* in 1884 despite a disturbing originality which was partly the result of a visit to Russia in 1879 when he met and was attracted by the leading members of "The Five." Already interested by the startling innovations which the Russians had made in musical coloring, he associated himself with the impressionistic painters on his return from Rome. This association, together with Debussy's already well-developed interest in a new musical idiom, was responsible for musical Impressionism. A discussion of his music belongs properly to the history of the twentieth century. The importance of Impressionism here is that it was characteristic of the manner in which Romanticism was being transformed by the addition of new artistic concepts. With Strauss, Romanticism became Realism; with Debussy it became Impressionism.

In closing the discussion of the breakdown of Romanticism three younger contemporaries of Strauss and Debussy must be mentioned. They are the Russian, Alexander Scriabin (1872-1915), the German, Arnold Schoenberg (1874), and the Frenchman, Erik Satie (1866-1925). None of them had exerted any considerable influence before the beginning of the twentieth century, but they were none the less present on the scene and representative of the process through which Romanticism was passing.

Scriabin was going through a personal development which led him to search for a new type of meaning that might be inherent in musical materials. Beginning with an idiom inspired by Chopin, he was working toward a mysticism which involved a theosophical relationship between art and religion. Thus Scriabin's Romanticism took on the color of mysticism.

Schoenberg began as an exponent of Wagnerism, but rapidly turned to an intellectual interest in exploring the harmonic implications of the process by which the romanticists had continued the destruction of the classic system of tonality. Schoenberg was approaching the aesthetic which has been described by the term *Expressionism*. In its specialized meaning it denotes an abstract and often objective expression of what has been called the "soul" of nature and humanity. It was the beginning of a distinct road away from conventional Romanticism.

Satie was a revolutionary. Disdaining all antecedents, he insisted upon shocking everybody, principally, one suspects, because it gave him pleasure. By modern chroniclers who have found it necessary to label everything, he has been called a *Post-Impressionist*. Whether or not he himself had a serious purpose it is unnecessary to decide; certainly he exerted an immense influence. After Satie had made a startling innovation, other men could follow with the confidence that they were adding to a tradition for which another had shouldered the responsibility. Here nineteenth-century Romanticism was being changed almost beyond recognition.

Summary

The diffusion of Romanticism furnished the immediate antecedents for the twentieth century. In order to find one's way through the differently conceived and often contradictory creations of the last few decades some idea of the process by which music has arrived at its present state is indispensable: Classicism never gave way entirely to Romanticism; Romanticism never was entirely displaced by realism or Impressionism or Expressionism or mysticism or Post-Impressionism. They all marched together, one decrepit, one destined to undergo rejuvenation, one charged with immense vitality, and one fated to be still-born, into the twentieth century. Truly, the artistic heritage of the new century was a marvelous and multiple thing.

Readings

Henry T. Finck

Ernest Newman

James Gibbons Huneker

Mrs. Franz Lubich

F. H. Shera

Léon Vallas

Alfred J. Swan

A. Eaglefield Hull

Richard Strauss: The Man and His Works

Richard Strauss

Strauss

Claude Achille Debussy

Debussy and Ravel

Debussy: The Man and His Music

Scriabin

Scriabin

Music: Classical, Romantic and Modern

W. J. Henderson	<i>Modern Musical Drift</i>
Lazare Saminsky	<i>Music of Our Day</i>
E. B. Hill	<i>Modern French Music</i>
G. Jean-Aubry	<i>French Music of Today</i>
Arthur Elson	<i>Modern Composers of Europe</i>
M. Montagu-Nathan	<i>Contemporary Russian Composers</i>
D. G. Mason	<i>Contemporary Composers</i>
Romain Rolland	<i>Musicians of Today</i>
Philippe Fauré-Fremiet	<i>Gabriel Fauré</i>
René Peter	<i>Claude Debussy</i>
Charles Koechlin	<i>Debussy</i>
Daniel Chennevière	<i>Claude Debussy</i>
Léon Vallas	<i>Les idées de Claude Debussy</i>
R. Westphal	<i>Die moderne Musik</i>
W. Altmann	<i>Die moderne Oper</i>

Part Eight:

The Twentieth Century

PROLOGUE:

DISILLUSION, REALISM, MANIFESTOES

BEFORE the nineteenth century ended, some of the hope had filtered out of the atmosphere which had surrounded the earlier romantic glow. As men tried to think through the problems which grew out of the new freedoms, more and more of them felt a growing pessimism for the future. The arts turned toward a realism that became more and more an escape from, and a reaction against, the emotional warmth of the earlier part of the century.

As the new century began, men distrusted more and more what they only felt and turned with increasing eagerness to what they could know. New scientific information seemed to dissipate old beliefs, and the faith that had been given to new hopes seemed to have been misplaced. What seemed the last great hope came at the end of the first World War, and that led to a world-wide disillusionment which seemed to demonstrate the utter futility of high emotion.

The twentieth century has but shaky confidence in the concept of progress. It is pessimistic over the ability of mankind to use his knowledge of the world—of science

and society—for any purpose but its own destruction. Our century still hopes for a better world, but it is a hope, not an honest belief in perfectibility. The philosophical, religious, artistic—even economic and political—moorings of the past seem to have shifted. We can use and respect and try to enjoy the fruits of our predecessor's trust in these moorings, but our "brave new world" has need of great bravery as it seeks foundations for its own sense of direction.

This seeking for a sense of direction is a characteristic of our time. One avenue is a denial of the directions to which the past seemed to point. A painter sneers at the "photographic" in art; a composer testifies that music is, by its very nature, "objective"; a politician proclaims that democracy is decadent; a poet sings:

Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the pit from pole to pole;

Another avenue has been to set up, by means of a "manifesto," a guide into an uncharted but wholly different future. The manifestoes and platforms of political parties are well known. Symposia from groups of philosophers and religionists are not so well known outside their own groups. Even artists and musicians have attempted to give their work direction through such documents as the "Platform" of the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians and the "Futurist Manifesto" issued at Paris in 1909. The attempts to construct works of art on the basis of preconceived and limited systems of aesthetics have been matched by the attempts to reconstruct societies on the basis of preconceived and limited systems of political, social, and economic organization. They are all characteristic of the times. With such signs before us, the utter confusion of twentieth-century music may seem inevitable.

THE ADVENT OF MODERNISM: THE FIRST DECADE

Modernism

THE TERM "modernism" has been widely used for two thousand years. St. Augustine was inclined to be fearful of the "modernism" of Ambros of Milan. Monteverde's contemporaries complained, with an array of persuasive arguments, that he was the father of an incomprehensible "modernism." The critical writings of the eighteenth and nineteenth century are likewise filled with prophecies of the downfall of musical art because of the innovations of the "moderns." Henry Chorley, an English critic of the middle nineteenth century who received and, in many respects, deserved a considerable following, in writing about "Young Germany" said: "In short, the impression left us by *Lohengrin* is that of power and perversity perpetually jostling and neutralizing each other. A system more systematically inconsistent has never been so emphatically illustrated. . . . The truth is that such nonsense will not bear looking into—let Herren Wagner and Schumann and M. Berlioz take it as they will. . . ." Again "modernism!"

A Motto for Modernism

The moral is twofold: Modernism is a relative term, always applied to the artistic phenomena which are new and puzzling; modernism is the outgrowth of the past, a result of the compulsion which forces artists to create works which are new. A

motto, relevant to the whole history of music, but basic to a sympathetic understanding of the music of the twentieth century, may be quoted from Cyril Scott's *The Philosophy of Modernism*: "*The prerequisite to immortality in the world of art is the capacity to create something new, or, in other words, the capacity to invent a new style.*" Scott might have added that true immortality depends upon the creation of a *valid style*. A present student of the twentieth century, if he be a chronicler, has little business, however, to attempt to evaluate either the immortality of present composers or the ultimate validity of their styles. But it is important that he attempt an explanation of the genesis of those styles.

The Heritage of the Twentieth Century

Classicism, Romanticism, Realism, Nationalism, and Impressionism are all names which, by referring to an underlying aesthetic concept, attempt to legitimize different musical idioms. The idiom may be placed in its proper academic pigeonhole by use of one or another of those terms, but their use does not satisfactorily explain the transformation of musical materials involved. To understand the heritage of twentieth-century musicians not only the aesthetic theories but what they have felt to be the evolution of the actual materials of musical art must be scrutinized.

The trend of the nineteenth century was toward an ever-increasing freedom—toward a relaxing of the rules governing tonal syntax which the eighteenth century had considered inexorable. The romanticists were chiefly interested in exploring the possibilities of new harmonies, which meant that they were approaching a free use of dissonance. The use of new and dissonant harmonies, motivated at first by the desire to increase the expressive vocabulary of music, tended to become an end in itself: the color possibilities of new and dissonant harmonies were a source of unending interest; composers became curious to discover a constructive principle which they thought must be inherent in an evolutionary process that so evidently was destroy-

ing the relationships upon which the coherence of the tonal system depended.

Problems of Style and Structure

The trend toward increasing harmonic complexity brought with it two distinct problems of style and structure. First, every new addition to the harmonic system destroyed the stylistic balance between rhythm, color, melody, and harmony. The composer must either abjure the use of revolutionary materials or be forced to develop a new style into which they would fit. Melodies built out of the simple triad or scale structure of the classic tonal system were often the source of stylistic incongruity when harmonized chromatically. In like manner the chromatic polyphony of a composer like Wagner necessitated a new rhythmic idiom. Second, musical form, dependent to a large extent upon the clear contrast of tonalities, was under the necessity of seeking a new fundamental principle because of the increasing vagueness of key relationship. The modulation to the dominant for the second theme in the sonata form, for instance, lost its point when the section devoted to the first theme had already presented far more distant tonal relationships. Conventional sensuous beauty, moreover, receded into relative unimportance before such new problems of style and form.

The Realism of Strauss continued the harmonic and melodic idiom of the romanticists. The melodies were partly diatonic and partly chromatic, built up from comparatively short phrases which were subject to widely varied rhythmic and harmonic treatment. The harmony continued to remain largely tonal, in the sense that it revolved around a key center, but alterations and chromaticisms were so common as to be the rule. Such late romantic harmony might be called *tonal chromaticism*. Structure was characteristically loose-knit and was explained in reference to expanded classic forms. In the symphonic poems the extramusical programs functioned as a unifying force and consequently furnished a large part of the structural principle.

The Impressionism of Debussy, however, furnished the twen-

tieth century with a style which marked the advent of Modernism. Thus in the light of his position as the composer who introduced Modernism, Debussy takes on an importance far greater than the position given him in the previous chapter as a composer whose work marked the final diffusion of Romanticism. From the perspective of the twentieth century, then, Debussy becomes the most important figure of the period before the first war; with Debussy the importance of Germany began to recede, and Paris became the center of the new music.

Contributions of Debussy to Modernism

About 1890 Debussy began the series of compositions which defined Impressionism. A complete list of his works is too long to include here, but in every field he touched—song, opera, orchestra, chamber music, piano—the new style was apparent and epoch-making. The songs included settings of the poems of Mallarmé, Baudelaire, and Verlaine. They are finely wrought; Debussy was deeply sensitive to the nuances of poetry. The orchestral works include the *Prélude à l'après midi d'un faune* (1892), and *La mer* (1905). In them, and particularly in the latter, Debussy accomplished a remarkable balance between musical idiom and medium. The orchestra shimmers with a play of tonal color which emphasizes not only the new conceptions of musical materials but also marks the composer as a master of the art of orchestration. The mature piano works—from *Pour le Piano* (1901) to the two books of *Douze préludes* (1910-1913) in which Debussy at times gave free rein to his exuberant fancy and at times sought inspiration and guidance from clavecin works of Couperin and Rameau—have the effect of transforming the tonal possibilities of the instrument. The demands which this music makes on the use of the pedal, for instance, were revolutionary.

Pelléas et Mélisande, first performed at the *Opéra comique* in 1902, was probably more revolutionary in effect than Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. A work of the twentieth century, it not only attracted wide attention to Debussy but it also was such a

perfect exemplification of his methods that it was completely convincing. While Strauss massed an orchestra of well over a hundred players for *Salome*, performing much of the time with true German sonority, Debussy wrote for a small orchestra which only seldom emerged from a subdued background. Debussy understood the operatic methods of all of his predecessors and contemporaries; he extracted the essences of their technics and compounded them into a style which was wholly his own. The thematic development carried on in the Wagnerian orchestra is almost altogether absent, and all semblance of conventional vocal melody is gone; the voices intone the text in a chantlike recitative which seems to allow the drama to proceed without the slightest musical static. Fortunately the final solution of the problem of combining music and drama has not been reached; the admirer of *Pelléas et Mélisande* is considerably tempted, however, to suggest that Debussy has here produced the perfect combination.

The Elements of Debussy's Style

The elements of Debussy's style are complex. He began by reversing the process by which general styles had originally been created. During the seventeenth century operatic composers slowly built up a stock of rhythmic patterns, melodic phrases, and harmonic turns into which composers dipped for their materials and from which the laws of harmony and counterpoint were derived. At the end of the nineteenth century the influence of Wagner was so strong as to give a Wagnerian tinge to the body of musical conventionalities and rules by which composers were more or less unconsciously governed. Debussy refused to accept any of those conventionalities. He questioned the "natural" value of either the diatonic or the chromatic scale, and for the purposes of his style discarded them both in favor of two far more primitive systems, the modal and the pentatonic. Beginning thus with scales which were new to harmonic music he let them govern his new melodic and harmonic idioms. The new chords refused to behave according to the syntax which had governed

chord resolution in the tonal system; he substituted his own exquisite taste for harmony-book rules. The total result was a style which was astonishingly successful in producing the same sensuous effects that the impressionistic painters had achieved with color.

The architecture of Debussy's music is not the result of the conventional structural function of harmony, or melody, or rhythm, or color. It is an architecture in which none of them has an outstanding part, but in which all supplement each other to produce a fabric which has structural symmetry and form. With this structural symmetry Debussy contrives to convey to the hearer an emotion which has none of the personal poignancy of Wagner, but which takes the listener into an unexplored realm of impersonal but none the less intense ecstasy. Impressionism!

The Spread of Impressionism: Dukas, Delius, Loeffler, Roussel, and Ravel

Debussy's contribution to musical development seemed to many composers to be the way out of a Romanticism of which they were tiring. But his idiom was so personal that its imitation was dangerous. The men who were strongly influenced by Debussy can be called his followers only in the sense that they took his work as a starting point for their own. Some of them often found themselves working in almost diametric opposition to some of his aims. Chief among them were Paul Dukas (1865-1935), Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), Frederick Delius (1863-1934), Charles Martin Loeffler (1861-1935), and Albert Roussel (1869-1937). Dukas, known chiefly through his opera *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue* and his symphonic poem *L'apprenti sorcier*, and Roussel, who was a pupil of D'Indy and is known through the orchestra work *Le festin de l'araignée*, are followers of Debussy in the sense that they borrowed his harmonic and melodic idiom and are indebted to him for at least a part of their mastery of the orchestra. Loeffler was an Alsatian who worked almost altogether in America. He was clearly an impressionist, although he was by no means a slavish imitator of Debussy. He will be

mentioned later in connection with American music. Frederick Delius was the chief English exponent of Impressionism. His best known works are a series of orchestral poems which include *On Hearing the First Cuckoo in Spring*, *Brigg Fair*, *In a Summer Garden*, and *A Song before Sunrise*.

Ravel was a pupil of Fauré in composition, but his admiration for the French clavecin composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, his choice of subjects, his mastery of delicate orchestral treatment, and his distinctive harmonic idiom made him, among other things, one of the important impressionists. He is best known for his piano pieces, a string quartet, the symphonic fragments from the ballet *Daphnis et Chloë* and the more recent and far bolder *Bolero*.

Decline of Impressionism

Impressionism, great as has been its influence, arose largely out of the personal style of just one composer of genius. It contained within itself the germ of its own decay. Although it added some new resources, it reached its maturity so rapidly because it dispensed with so many old ones that the total effect was that of a drastic limitation of materials. When those were explored—and Debussy's final works indicated that he had completed that exploration before he stopped composing—their continued use could result in nothing but repetition. Despite the fact, however, that Debussy's innovations did not long remain in the musical vocabulary, they enabled him to add a remarkable chapter to musical literature.

Readings

Alfred J. Swan
Cyril Scott
A. Eaglefield Hull

E. B. Hill
Adolf Weismann
Rollo H. Myers
George Dyson

Music, 1900-1930
The Philosophy of Modernism
Music: Classical, Romantic and Modern
Modern Harmony
Modern French Music
The Problems of Modern Music
Modern Music
The New Music

Philip Heseltine
 Madeleine Goss
 G. Jean-Aubry
 Lazare Saminsky
 Eric Walter White
Modern Music
The Chesterian
 René Peter
 Gustave Samazueilh
 R. Westphal

Delius
The Life of Maurice Ravel
French Music of Today
Music of Our Day
Stravinsky's Sacrifice to Apollo
 (See complete files)
 (See complete files)
Claude Debussy
Paul Dukas
Die moderne Musik

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THE SECOND DECADE

Scriabin

ALTHOUGH Debussy stands out as the composer who first popularized twentieth-century modernism, his Impressionism was but one facet of an experimentation that was going on everywhere. All the men to be discussed in this chapter have made contributions without which the composite definition of modernism would be incomplete.

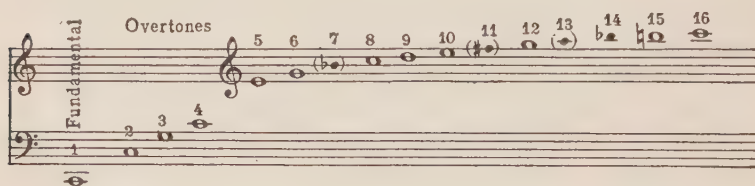
Scriabin was a native of Moscow, a student at the Moscow Conservatory and, after a few years in Paris and Brussels, professor of piano at the Moscow Conservatory. From 1903 until his premature death in 1915 he devoted himself to composition and to concert trips on which he performed many of his own works. Scriabin's works include many smaller works for piano, ten piano sonatas, three symphonies, and two symphonic poems, the *Poem of Ecstasy*, opus 54 (1908), and *Prometheus* (1910). His remarkable influence, exerted largely during the second decade, was due to the wide hearing given the *Poem of Ecstasy* and *Prometheus* and to the interest in the more ambitious work left unfinished at his death.

Scriabin's connection, both with the nineteenth-century Russian School, and with the musicians of western Europe, was close; the individuality which separated him from his contemporaries requires some explanation.

Scriabin saw in Theosophy a religion which not only appealed to the spiritual side of his nature, but which had a significance that could best be expressed in terms of art. The theosophical explanation of Scriabin's music may be easily overworked—he undoubtedly had a nervous system which would have led him into some sort of mysticism had he never encountered Theosophy—but it is nevertheless true that Theosophy offered him an aesthetic which he was quick to grasp.

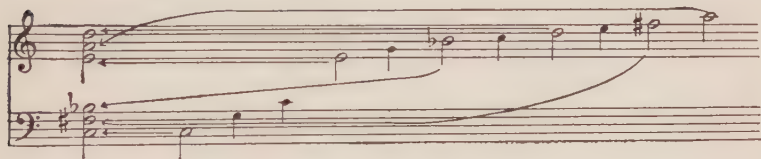
Acoustic Harmony: The Mystic Chord

In working out a musical system that would answer his purpose Scriabin extended the boundary of the harmonic system to include tones which had long been recognized by the science of acoustics, but to which he gave a new practical application. Since the time of Rameau and Tartini, the series of harmonic overtones had furnished the acoustical justification for chords built up of superimposed thirds. On being sounded, a fundamental tone gives out a long series of overtones:



Classic harmony, for purpose of chord building, made use of the lower half of the series but confined the chords which it recognized as consonant to those constructed from the first five overtones. Scriabin, taking the overtone series as his guide, felt that any chord which could be devised from the overtones would be legitimate, and that such a chord would define its fundamental tone as a tonic and could, consequently, be treated as a concord.

Transposition would take place when the chord was moved to a new fundamental. In order to make such transposition possible, Scriabin necessarily used the twelve tone, or *duodecuple* scale, which differs from the chromatic scale only in functional conception.¹ Here was the first new system logically derived from the chromaticism which had destroyed the faith of many composers in key tonality! Scriabin often chose to build up his defining chord in a structure of fourths from the natural overtone series:



This is the chord which he used as the basis for *Prometheus* and for the seventh sonata. It is the *mystic chord* of Scriabin's commentators. For other works he chose other chords, often much simpler than the mystic chord. Such chords could be used in any inversion and could be transposed. They could be embellished by passing tones and appoggiaturas which, however, were to be treated as dissonances.²

The fact that most of Scriabin's important works made use of the classic sonata-form outline, including, quite naturally, many of the modifications that had been made by Liszt and others, indicates not only that he recognized the necessity for strong formal structure, but that he had retained contrast of tonality as a structural principle. He simply substituted one concept of tonality for another.

¹ In the chromatic scale separate tones have an unequal and relative value depending upon *key tonic*; in the duodecuple scale tonal relationships are defined by the choice of the chord which is to serve as tonic.

² It is only fair to point out that the apparent logic of this harmonic system is disturbed by the following paradox: the overtone series is composed of tones of the untempered scale, but Scriabin's mystic chord, derived from it, is to be sounded on an instrument tuned to the tempered scale.

Color Music

A few years prior to his death, Scriabin conceived a new art form in which sound and visual color could be combined. The idea of an art based upon mobile color was not new. In 1895 a Mr. G. W. Rimington was prepared publicly to demonstrate a "color organ." Scriabin was aware not only of the color organ experiments, but of the steps which science was making in the direction of understanding the relation between sound and color. He did not accept the scale of emotional suggestion with which Rimington had clothed the "tones" of his color organ, but he did make use of the instrument in *Prometheus*, which was thus to be a dual symphonic composition—a symphony in color and a symphony in sound.

Just before his death, evidently satisfied with the success of his experiment, Scriabin had planned a work which would include not only tone and color, but also plastic vision and aroma. What such a work might have been must be left to the imagination. But certainly from the point of view of the present, when sound and light and movement have been successfully combined in the sound cinema, Scriabin's experiments have some elements of prophetic foresight.

Scriabin's Contemporaries in Russia

Scriabin's Russian contemporaries did not form a school under the influence of his methods and theories. But his interest in enlarging the scope of art by drawing on the immense reservoir of new ideas accumulating during the nineteenth century was an artistic development shared by many of his contemporaries. Among the Moscow group were several men whose names cannot be omitted from the history of music: Alexander Taneieff (1850-1918?), Anton Arensky (1861-1906), Anatole Liadoff (1855-1914), Alexander Glazounoff (1865-1936), Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873-1943), and Sergei Koussevitzky (1874) who, although not a composer of note, has been active as an apostle

of Russian music outside of Russia, particularly in his capacity of conductor of the Boston Orchestra.

Satie

Erik Satie (1866-1925) continues to be an enigma to both critic and historian. He may have had all the serious intent of a clown whose aim is to make others take themselves less seriously, or he may have laughed in his sleeve at the seriousness with which his antics were regarded; in either case he exerted an important influence.

Satie first appeared as a composer in 1887 with three *Sarabandes*, followed in 1888 by three dances called *Gymnopédies* and in 1890 by three more called *Gnossiennes*. These early works were of the utmost interest to men like Debussy, who orchestrated the *Gymnopédies*. But Satie felt the need of further study—he was weak in the technic that could be derived from a strict training in counterpoint—so he enrolled as a student at the *Schola Cantorum*. The studies which Satie underwent did not, however, make him a conventional composer, but only served to clarify and emphasize his own manner.

The early works of Satie mark a distinct break with past musical tradition. The works after his period of study at the *Schola Cantorum* make him appear as an iconoclast whose experiments were humorous and whose idiom contained elements which anticipated future developments. They include a long series of piano pieces with humorous titles: The *Veritables préludes flasques pour un chien* (1912) were explained by Satie as follows: "I want to make a piece for dogs and I have my scene. The curtain rises upon a bone." In the suite devoted to marine animals (*Embryons desséchés*, 1913) the text carries the following explanation: "The cucumber of the sea is taking a walk; like the nightingale he has the toothache; he has left his pipe at home, but then he does not smoke." Debussy once advised Satie to pay more attention to form. Satie's answer was *Pièces en forme de poire* (pieces in the form of a pear).

Satie did not devote himself entirely to the piano. In 1917

the Russian Ballet performed his *Parade*; following this, *Mercury* and *Relache* preceded the symphonic drama *Socrate* (1925).

The opponents of Satie felt that his atonality³ and polyharmony,⁴ his interest in music hall and jazz, and his refusal to treat art as a serious matter, were the beginning of anarchy. Younger men found in his works much that interested them and much which they felt they could use legitimately. Satie was constantly on the watch for young men of talent. After having been an influence in forming the styles of Debussy, Ravel, and Dukas, he warned the postwar composers who had banded together as the "Group des Six," of the dangers of Impressionism while he retailed his newer musical creed. After the Six had demonstrated its lack of coherence, he gathered a still younger group, *L'école d'arceuil*.

Schoenberg: Expressionism

Arnold Schoenberg has already been noticed as one of those who, at the beginning of the twentieth century, were ready to turn against Romanticism. The personal evolution which has carried Schoenberg away from works that have any semblance of conventionality into an almost completely new territory has been followed sympathetically by only a few of his contemporaries. Whether or not his music *per se* can be enjoyed should not prevent students from regarding Schoenberg as one of the dominant personalities in contemporary music.

The early works of Schoenberg contain much that was disturbing at the time of their composition, but they now seem commonplace, except that they demonstrate a talent that is not common. They include several groups of songs, the string sextet, *Verklärte Nacht*, opus 4, the orchestral poem, *Pelléas und Mélisande*, opus 5, the *Gurrelieder*, the string quartet in D minor, the *Kammersymphonie*, opus 9, and the string quartet

³ The term *atonality* describes a harmonic condition in which all tonal center supposedly has been destroyed.

⁴ The term *polyharmony* describes a condition in which harmonies relating to several tonal centers, but not necessarily related to each other, are sounded together.

in F# minor, opus 10. Through this series of works Schoenberg gradually moved to the style which has been called "expressionistic."⁵ The works which exemplify the new style spread through ten opus numbers and include the *Five Orchestral Pieces*, opus 16, the dramatic works *Erwartung* and *Die glückliche Hand*, and the instrumental work with spoken text, *Pierrot Lunaire*.

A New Harmonic System

Like all other theorists, Schoenberg derived the beginnings of his system from an examination of the style to which he had been led by instinct. Thus his *Harmonielehre* is a textbook in harmony which attempts to define, in terms of systematic logic, phenomena that he had already used in practical composition. The implications of his innovations led him to forecast a system which his music has admittedly left partially unexplored. Schoenberg's style and his theory are so closely related, however, that one can be discussed in terms of the other.

The increasing use of dissonances and tonally vague harmonic combinations had led to a condition which was, until recently, universally felt to destroy the function of tonality. The term *atonal* came into use to describe a harmonic condition where tonality was no longer felt to function. Musicians are beginning to suspect that atonality is not a true phenomenon but only descriptive of an aural sensation resulting from the failure of the ear to perceive a fundamental tonality that actually is present. Schoenberg's theory, however, is based upon the supposition that the apparent condition described as atonality is actual, and that, in consequence, the architectural value of tonality has been lost and must be replaced. It consists of two canons, each of which may be discussed separately: first, a new harmonic system; second, a practical application of that system.

The basic concept of Schoenberg's harmonic system is that no differentiation exists between concord and discord, and that consequently the total possible number of tone combinations may be

⁵ The term "expressionistic" was borrowed from the painter Kandinsky, in whose works Schoenberg has been very much interested.

accepted as chords. The twelve tones within the range of one octave may, then, be used in all possible combinations. The resources, from the harmonic standpoint, are increased to well over two thousand available chords:

55	differently constituted	3-tone chords
165	differently constituted	4-tone chords
330	differently constituted	5-tone chords
462	differently constituted	6-tone chords
462	differently constituted	7-tone chords
330	differently constituted	8-tone chords
165	differently constituted	9-tone chords
55	differently constituted	10-tone chords
11	differently constituted	11-tone chords
1		12-tone chord

Within this enormous number of chords are contained, of course, all of the harmonic combinations which have been used by other systems. Schoenberg's system demands that their use be a guarded one: they must not be used in a way that would tend to establish even momentarily a tonal center.

How, then, does Schoenberg propose to use this system? Music cannot exist without the establishment of some sort of *relationship between tones*. Form cannot exist without having that relationship point to some kind of recognizable center. Schoenberg solves this problem by selecting, for each composition, a group of tones which, stated either harmonically or melodically (vertically or horizontally), will be recognized as the "key" of the composition.⁶ Instead of from a preconceived scale, the form-building materials generate from a "motive" which is selected for each work. For methods of treatment, Schoenberg goes back to the Gothic period when men like Okeghem and Josquin des Prés depended upon the abstractions of polyphonic technic. Thus the age-old types of organic imitation, such as inversion, diminution, augmentation, and cancrizans reappear in modern guise. The analysis of a Schoenberg composition is quite similar to that quoted from Burney of Josquin's Mass "L'homme armé."

⁶ The selected group of tones Schoenberg calls the *Grundgestalt* (basic image).

Schoenberg's Influence

It is difficult to prophesy the extent to which Schoenberg's principles will be adopted. His disciples, men like Alban Berg (1885-1935), Anton von Webern (1883-1945), and Egon Wellesz (1885), are enthusiastic about exploring the territory which he has discovered. But it must be admitted that Schoenberg's whole approach to musical art is almost wholly intellectual; few musicians can *hear* the intricacies that are visible to the eye. (In certain circles his work has been called *Augenmusik*—"eye music.") Like other systems which are the invention of one man, this one is stamped by the personality of its inventor, perhaps to the extent that it cannot be useful to men whose genius is less intellectual and more intuitive.

To those who do grasp the meaning of Schoenberg's music, it is apparent that he has approximated an achievement of his aesthetic aims: to *express in tone* the fundamental pulse of the age in which he lives. It is, however, too soon to be sure; our estimate of Schoenberg must be confined to the recognition that his followers look upon him as an intellectual giant and that he has had a powerful influence in shaping the direction of twentieth-century music.

Since 1933, Schoenberg has been a resident of the United States. He, like many of the other composers of central Europe, could neither endure the frustration which resulted from the rise and spread of totalitarianism nor withstand the racial prejudices which were a part of that movement. After a short stay in Boston, Schoenberg moved to Los Angeles where he still resides.

Schoenberg came to the United States as a composer whose music was admittedly obscure to most of his contemporaries, but whose standing as an important force in European musical development was secure. He was looked upon as an intellectual prodigy among composers. He had constructed a tightly argued method and philosophy for his personal aspect of musical modernism: expressionism. But that philosophy and method were less understood and admired in America than in Europe. Americans

are eager to profit from technical mastery wherever it is to be found, but they hesitate to continue to use that mastery in the service of a cult of modernism which seems to be an expression of a bewildered European culture. Schoenberg, as a resident of the United States, has found some acceptance as a master of the technics involved in musical composition. But his expressionism, together with the methods and philosophy and music which represent it, finds almost no audience. This condition seems to have reacted on the composer himself. Certainly the music of his American period indicates a change of inspiration, and it is perhaps characteristic that he has recently finished a work which was left incomplete in 1907.

Finally, there is a strong temptation to indicate two places where there might be some question concerning the logic of the Schoenberg twelve-tone-row system. First, it is questionable whether a process of evolution, in the biological sense, functions with regard to musical materials. Certainly there is constant change in the acceptance, expressive vitality, and consequent usefulness of such materials. But the causes for this change arise out of human *perception* and are inherent in musical materials themselves only as those materials make contact with perception. To argue that the Expressionist's concept of the twelve sounds within the octave as a twelve-tone row without a center is actually their discernment of an inevitable product of an evolutionary process seems to be based on the acceptance of principle which cannot be supported. Second, perception of organization in a pattern of sound depends upon the discernment by the hearer of a relationship between sounds. The conditioning of listeners to the music of Western culture is such that they search for relationships of *fifths*. When they hear that relationship, or even one approximating it, they *perceive* tonic and dominant. This characteristic of perception may be even more basic than conditioning would make it. In any case it is active even when the composer sets up a musical system which denies the organizing power of fifths. The perceptive apparatus, confronted with twelve-tone-row music, searches for fifths, finds them occasionally, and immediately perceives tonic and dominant. In doing so, how-

ever, the composer's carefully constructed system is frustrated, and the system immediately frustrates the listener's perception of the tonal organization. One may question, then, both the "evolutionary" necessity of the twelve-tone row, and the possibility that music so organized can be perceived.

The important works of Schoenberg's American period are the following:

Suite for String Orchestra

Violin Concerto

Fourth Quartet

Second Chamber Symphony (begun in 1906 but completed in America)

Variations for Band

Ode to Napoleon

Stravinsky

Igor Stravinsky was born in 1882 at Oranienbaum, a suburb of Leningrad. His father was a famous singer of the Maryinsky theater. Stravinsky was educated for the law, and not until 1902, when he met Rimsky-Korsakoff, did he decide to devote himself to music. From 1902 until Rimsky-Korsakoff's death in 1908 Stravinsky was his pupil.

In 1909 Stravinsky began his long connection with Diaghileff and the Russian Ballet. This connection changed him, almost overnight, from a young composer whose horizons were limited by a provincial nationalism to an artist subject to the cosmopolitan cross currents of Paris. More than any other twentieth-century composer, his works have had immediate and brilliant performances in magnificent surroundings. More than any other, too, Stravinsky has been the center of an artistic activity which has included not only a remarkable group of performing artists, but painters like Leon Bakst, Natalie Gotcharova, Pablo Picasso, etc., and composers like Debussy, Satie, and Ravel. The kaleidoscopic activity of the Russian Ballet, throughout more than twenty years of Stravinsky's creative life, has been a force of immeasurable value.

Stravinsky's Works

With the Russian Ballet, the ballet has become a significant art form, combining music with dancing, mimicry, costume, and scenic design. With Stravinsky, we find a composer whose important works have chiefly been written for this form—a new branch of the musical theater. Each work, as it came to performance, was true theater music; each work, too, was so revolutionary that its effect was immediately felt in the more traditional musical forms. His works for the theater may be listed as follows:

<i>L'oiseau du feu</i>	(ballet)	1910
<i>Petrouchka</i>	(ballet)	1911
<i>Le sacre du printemps</i>	(ballet)	1912-13
<i>Rossignol</i>	(lyric tale in four acts)	1909-14
<i>Le chant du Rossignol</i>	(ballet)	1915
<i>Renard</i>	(chamber opera)	1916-17
<i>Les noces</i>	(ballet with chorus)	1917
<i>Histoire du soldat</i>	(ballet with reader)	1918
<i>Pulcinella</i>	(ballet after Pergolesi)	1919
<i>Mavra</i>	(lyric scene in one act)	1922
<i>Oedipus rex</i>	(opera-oratorio)	1927
<i>Apollon musagète</i>	(chamber ballet)	1928
<i>Le baiser de la fée</i>	(ballet)	1928
<i>Perséphone</i>	(melodrama)	1933
<i>Jeu de Cartes</i>	(ballet)	1936

Since 1920 Stravinsky has turned with much interest to the field of absolute music. Important works must be listed under this heading:

<i>Concertino</i> (for string quartet)	1920
<i>Symphonie d'instruments à vent</i>	1920
<i>Sonata</i> (for piano)	1922
<i>Octuor</i> (for wind instruments)	1923
<i>Concerto</i> (for piano and orchestra)	1924
<i>Capriccio</i> (for piano and orchestra)	1929
<i>Symphonie des Psaumes</i>	1930
<i>Concerto</i> (for violin and orchestra)	1931
<i>Concerto for Two Pianos</i>	1935
<i>Symphony in C</i>	1940

Dances Concertantes
Sonata for Two Pianos

1942
1944

Songs, piano pieces, chamber music, and some less important orchestral works complete the list of Stravinsky's compositions.

Stravinsky's departure from a musical idiom influenced by his Russian training and background is strikingly evident in the early ballets, as is also his constant search for new methods. Stravinsky approaches the subject with which he deals with the desire to create for that subject a particular style which will not only be fitting to the subject but perfectly executed musically. Consequently there is a wide difference between individual compositions; innovations which appear in one work are not permanent in the sense that they become a part of Stravinsky's later idiom.

Stravinsky's works, from *Petrouchka* to the violin concerto, thoroughly explore the artistic possibilities of almost every direction which modern music could take. A new *ism* has had to be invented with the appearance of each new work. In exploring the possibilities of rhythm Stravinsky has been interested in Russian folk music, American jazz, pagan and barbaric rites, and the rhythm of ancient languages. He has introduced into modern music a vital and sometimes terrific rhythmic element. Harmonically, the iconoclasm of Stravinsky reached its climax in *Le sacre du printemps*. Farther than that in the direction of dissonance neither Stravinsky nor anyone else could go. It is too soon to attempt to construct a theoretical system from Stravinsky's usage. He tends, however, to a mode which allows extreme dissonances, but does not dispense with a tonal center. Stravinsky's melodies grow out of his harmonic and rhythmic procedure and consequently defy the conventional definition of melody. He seems to be interested in horizontal line, but he scorns any sensuous lyricism. From Stravinsky music has received a new concept of melody: instead of treating a single line melodically, he often makes counterpoint of opposing masses of sound.

Stravinsky's use of the orchestra is characteristic. Beginning as a disciple of Rimsky-Korsakoff, he has become a master of orchestration. But Stravinsky's orchestra, even when he uses the

conventional instrumentation, has an altogether new sound. He has realized that one of the chief values of twentieth-century harmonic innovations is its new *color*. His orchestra accentuates that dissonant color. The texts on instrumentation have always indicated what their authors felt to be the proper and logical combinations of instruments. Stravinsky has upset the whole orchestral tradition by insisting that the logic of his harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic designs demands a new logic of instrumental color. He often dispenses with whole sections of the orchestra, confining his score now to the wind instruments, now to the strings. His use of all of them emphasizes their percussive possibilities. When his rhythmic plans demanded that the orchestra be completely rhythmic, as was the case with *Les noces*, he scored for four pianos and thirteen percussion instruments.

A New Aesthetic for Music: Neoclassicism

If Stravinsky is more than a brilliant experimenter, his works should exhibit, despite their remarkable diversity of style and method, the force which has motivated him as a creative artist. What basic purpose has Stravinsky wished to achieve? The question may be answered first negatively: his purpose has been completely to abjure Romanticism. For the positive answer we must turn again to the field of musical aesthetic: his purpose has been to create an art which has no dependence upon human elements—no sensuous delight, no sentiment, no emotional expression. He has attempted to make music which is impersonal and objective. He has, in other words, attempted to destroy, for his own works, not only psychological form but the *psychological implications of musical materials*. There was a period in musical development when men had almost no realization of those psychological implications; Stravinsky has desired to return, aesthetically, to that period. Because a comparison shows the Classicism of the eighteenth century to have been more objective than the Romanticism which followed it, Stravinsky's aesthetic has been called Neoclassicism.

Stravinsky's Influence

Stravinsky's influence has been so great that the musical world has seen the remarkable phenomenon of younger men following, as a gospel of art, the direction which seemed to be indicated by the external idiom of each work as it appeared—only to find that Stravinsky himself took a new direction with his next work. With the realization that Stravinsky has been attempting to achieve a neoclassic objectivity, which implies a complete negation of the composer's conscious personality, Stravinsky has been taken less seriously as a guide. It is altogether possible that composers will, in the future, be less interested in what Stravinsky did than in what he did not do.

That there are obvious flaws in Stravinsky's fundamental artistic principles does not mean that he is not the outstanding figure of his own time. The influence and importance of a new idea does not depend upon its ultimate truth but upon its contemporary acceptance. Despite his attempts to be unhuman, his works are intensely interesting human documents. How such music may impress posterity need interest Stravinsky's contemporaries but little; it is a sincere product of our own times, and need have no other justification for its importance and validity.

Stravinsky came to the United States in 1939 to lecture at Harvard University. He has remained here. Unlike Schoenberg, Stravinsky found American musicians already prepared for his music. Recordings of his works have had considerable vogue. But as an exciting leader for twentieth-century music, a man to whom younger composers will look for direction, his position has lost importance. He occupies a stronger place: his music is almost universally accepted as the most important, the most representative of the twentieth century. Some of it is beloved; some sounds almost old-fashioned.

Independent Spirits

Sociologists use the term "culture lag" to describe islands of activity in which the most modern tendencies are not displayed.

Because much of the writing concerning contemporary music has been motivated by the politics of modernism, it is hard to avoid thinking of composers who work independent of the most advanced doctrines as representing a "culture lag." In a period like our own there is always the danger that a "cult" of modernism interferes with a level-headed perspective.

During the first and second decades of the present century there were many composers who were products of their own period, but who could not subscribe to the radicalism of men like Schoenberg and Stravinsky. They continued to follow their own artistic ideals without receiving either the hisses or the applause with which their more radical contemporaries were greeted. That their ideals have validity is sufficiently proved by the fact that their pupils have more recently achieved recognition.

Among this group of independent spirits must be mentioned the following important men:

Franz Schrecker (1878-1934), an operatic composer whose works have had little hearing outside of Germany, but who has gained considerable recognition for his interest in Wagnerian methods.

Ernst von Dohnányi (1877), the Hungarian pianist-composer whose works, largely instrumental, reflect a decided interest in the nineteenth century.

Béla Bartók (1881-1945), a Hungarian whose style, based partly upon a profound study of folk music, is a highly personal synthesis of most of the resources—rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic—of twentieth-century modernism. His death recently in the United States, where he found very little understanding for his music, and so had to support himself as a pianist, is an example of the tragedy of many modern European musicians.

Zoltan Kodály (1882), a Hungarian whose explorations, with Bartók, of the wealth of Magyar folk music have resulted in many beautiful compositions.

Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), a German-Italian pianist and composer who exercised a remarkable influence in Germany, combined a veneration for Bach and Mozart with a keen interest in harmonic and coloristic experimentation. Among his important works were the operas *Turandot* and *Doktor Faust*.

Although Schoenberg and Stravinsky and most of the other men mentioned in this chapter by no means had finished their work in 1920, the perspective of the present places their strongest influence in the decade of the first war. By the same token, they dominated that short period. At the end of the war, however, their domination was distinctly lessened to make room for tendencies and composers who can be discussed only as belonging to the post-war epoch.

Readings

Alfred Swan
A. Eaglefield Hull

Leonid Sabaneyeff
M. Montagu-Nathan
E. B. Hill
Cecil Gray
Carl Van Vechten
Adolf Weismann
Lazare Saminsky
Egon Wellesz
Igor Stravinsky
Merle Armitage
Nicolas Slonimsky
Alfred J. Swan
Modern Music
The Chesterian
Herbert Fleischer
F. J. Marcan Verlag
(publisher)
Arnold Schönberg
Boris de Schloezer
R. Westphal

Scriabin
Scriabin
Modern Harmony
Music: Classical, Romantic and Modern
Modern Russian Composers
Contemporary Russian Composers
Modern French Music
Contemporary Music
Music after the Great War
Problems of Modern Music
Music of Our Day
Arnold Schönberg
Autobiography
Igor Stravinsky
Music Since 1900
Music, 1900-1930
(See complete files)
(See complete files)
Stravinsky

Von neuer Musik
Harmonielehre
Igor Stravinsky
Die moderne Musik

BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

France: The Heritage of the First World War

AT THE end of the first World War in 1918 musicians all over the world, but especially in Europe, felt the same necessity for returning to a normal kind of activity that was felt in other activities. Paris naturally became the center of immediate postwar music, partly because the attempts at peace-making were taking place there, and partly because the war had only interrupted a change of musical emphasis which was attracting more and more attention to French music.

The reaction against Romanticism was strong before the war. It was, in large part, a reaction against *German* Romanticism. After the war it was accelerated by the disillusionment that seemed to deny the validity of any emotional utterance. The most revolutionary prewar tendencies, represented in France by the expatriate Russian Stravinsky, seemed to offer a sure direction for the future. In the Paris of 1919 the Russian Ballet was looked upon as a French institution. The modernism of painters like Picasso attracted increasing attention and served as an incentive for artists in all mediums. The music of Debussy was still exceedingly attractive. Fauré, Ravel, Satie, D'Indy, and others represented powerful tendencies. Even jazz from America drew the interest of creative musicians.

"The Six"

Parisians—and this includes foreigners in Paris—from before the *Guerre des Bouffons*, through the Gluck-Piccini episode and

the storm center of Berlioz to the present, have felt the need of much talk and journalism about music. It was natural that the earliest postwar French activity should be largely newspaper-inspired. The desire for "normalcy" produced an artificial grouping called "The Six": Darius Milhaud (1892), Arthur Honegger (1892), Louis Durey (1888), Georges Auric (1899), Francis Poulenc (1899), and Germaine Tailleferre (1892). This group had very little unity, but its members achieved an activity and popularity which answered the need of French musicians for a rallying point. The importance of the group grew out of its service as a sounding board for the aesthetic philosophy of Eric Satie: a complete break with nineteenth-century Romanticism.

As the individual differences in background, training, capacity, and sympathy for Satie's viewpoint of the members of "The Six" became evident, even the journalistic unity with which the group originated disappeared. In consequence, "The Six" resolved itself into six individuals, some of whom have grown in stature and importance and some of whom have not.

Darius Milhaud

Milhaud was a student in violin, piano, and composition at the Paris *Conservatoire* from 1909 until 1915. In 1919 he returned to Paris from a stay of two years in Brazil, where he was a member of the French legation. He spent a season (1922-1923) in America as lecturer, pianist, and conductor, and shortly after the beginning of the second World War he came back to the United States where, until his return to France in 1946, he was active as composer and teacher.

Milhaud has been one of the leaders in the exploration of the idioms which grow out of the allowance of almost unlimited dissonance. His music is basically lyrical and he attempts to maintain a French clarity in the use of new materials, which have included South American dance rhythms and jazz from North America.

Milhaud's works include several works for the stage, both ballet and opera, and songs, piano pieces, orchestral works, and a few compositions for chamber groups.

Francis Poulenc

Poulenc was still a student at the Paris *Conservatoire* in 1922, three years after the formation of "The Six." His characteristic works, which include songs, piano pieces, and chamber music, indicate that he is interested in an idiom which is witty and imaginative but conservative enough to exhibit the restraint of classicism.

Arthur Honegger

Honegger received his training at Zurich and Paris. His Swiss background has made it difficult for him ever to espouse completely the aesthetic principles which Satie supplied for "The Six." But his large dramatic works, *Le Roi David*, *Judith*, and *Antigone* have been widely performed and have represented the music of his group to many people who were not in a position to make an evaluation on a more complete basis.

Other Personalities

Musical activity among Frenchmen in France between the wars was by no means limited to the composers who were momentarily members of "The Six." Ravel and Roussel were still active, and while the influence of Franck and D'Indy was declining, the music of Debussy and particularly Fauré (who, it must be remembered, lived until 1918 and 1924, respectively) was attracting increasing attention. Other important men were Jacques Ibert (1890), Georges Migot (1891), and Henri Sauguet (1901). Notice of this twenty-year period would not be complete without mention of Nadia Boulanger, a pupil of Fauré and a remarkable teacher whose influence has been strongly felt by a whole generation of American composers.

Central Europe

Viewed after the cultural debacle surrounding the second World War, musical activity in Central Europe between the wars seems to have reflected the tragic uncertainty of direction which led to political frustration. No free creative activity could exist in Germany and Austria after 1940, and most of it was discouraged after 1933. Composers who were active in post-World-War-One German-speaking countries fall naturally into two groups: first, the followers of Schoenberg; second, those of whatever leanings who were independent of Schoenberg.

The Viennese Group

Until he came to America, Schoenberg's residence in Vienna made that city a center for younger composers to whom his aims and methods seemed to offer a road into the future. Among these Alban Berg, Anton Webern, and Egon Wellesz have already been mentioned. Berg's works began to attract attention with his opera *Wozzeck* (1920). This interest, in spite of limited hearings, continued through a long list of meticulously constructed works in which Berg explored the possibilities of using many of the classical and preclassical forms as vehicles for the new idiom. His last work, a concerto for violin, serves as a monument to his methods.

Among the younger Germans who have been influenced by Schoenberg's system, Ernst Krenek (1900) must be listed. Krenek attracted international attention with his modern jazz opera, *Jonny spielt auf* (*Johnny Strikes up*). That work, however, marked only a lighter phase of the productions of a man who is a talented and well-trained composer. As a pupil of Franz Schrecker, he has a background which, in spite of his leaning toward Schoenberg, has led him to his own solution of the problems of modern style. Krenek, like others, came to the United States when Germany became impossible. In this country he has been active chiefly as a teacher. He has not made the impression on American musical

life which might have been expected. A book, *Music Here and Now* (1939) was Krenek's well-supported but rather futile attempt to persuade the twentieth-century audience to catch up with the modern composer.

The North German Group

The second German group, composed of men who have in common an independence of Schoenberg's principles, centers its activity in the north. It includes Paul Hindemith (1895) and Kurt Weill (1900).

Paul Hindemith

Hindemith has described his training and artistic viewpoint as follows:

I was born in 1895 at Hanau. Since my twelfth year, music study. I have earned my living as violinist, violist, pianist, and trapdrummer at the following musical jobs: chamber music of all kinds, movie orchestra, café orchestra, dance orchestra, operetta, jazz band, military band. Since 1916 I have been concertmaster of the Frankfort Opera. As a composer I have written mostly pieces that I no longer like: chamber music for the most varied groups, songs, and things for piano. Also three one-act operas, which will probably be the only ones because, as a result of the constantly increasing price of music paper, only small scores can be written.

I cannot give an analysis of my works because I don't know how to describe a piece of music in a few words (I would much rather write a new work in the time it takes). Besides that, I believe that for people with ears my things are easy to understand; consequently an analysis is unnecessary. Such a "pony" would certainly be of no help to the people without ears. I also refuse to write out single themes because they invariably give a false picture.

Sometime after Hindemith wrote this notice he became a member of the Amar String Quartet and still later taught composition in Berlin. Shortly after the Nazi doctrine demonstrated its artistic implications, he left Germany. He lived for a time in Turkey, and finally came to America where he has been active as performer and teacher.

Since the inflation period when music paper was actually a luxury, Hindemith has managed to secure enough to write large scores when he so desires. He has added a good deal of chamber and orchestral music, and important works for the stage, *Neues vom Tage* and *Mathis der Maler*, to his already long list of compositions.

Hindemith's Artistic Evolution

The fact that Hindemith is one of the outstanding talents of his time makes the development through which he has reached early maturity take on special significance. His early works, which he no longer likes, show him to have combined definite romantic tendencies with an extraordinary melodic gift and a virtuoso command of technic. But he had not then succeeded in reconciling the opposing elements of his heritage to produce a satisfactory style. Convinced of the value of modern harmonic developments, he has arrived at his own harmonic idiom by a process of melodic growth. His problem was to reach a melodic style that would dictate atonal harmony, just as a Mozart melody dictates chord and key. The process of development led Hindemith from accompanied melodies which were neither one nor the other, through a group of works for solo instruments alone into which the problem of accompaniment did not enter, to a final simplicity in which atonal melodies weave a polyphonic texture. The term *dissonant counterpoint* has often been used in connection with contemporary music. Such a work as Hindemith's string quartet, opus 22, demonstrates the meaning of that expression.

Although Hindemith has allowed the word *atonal* to be used in connection with a bibliography of his works, his music has not the atonality of Schoenberg. Hindemith retains the basic, and

even conventional, chord progressions of key tonality, but he disguises them with an often highly dissonant superstructure. Harmonic form, the result of clearly perceptible tonal relationships, is present in Hindemith's music.

Hindemith's compelling desire for structural clarity is evident not only in his harmonic idiom and his polyphonic workmanship, but in his use of older forms. He has not invented new forms, but has chosen, from the whole range of musical form, models which could be modified to suit his purposes.

"*Music for Use*"

The tendency toward romantic expression which was visible in Hindemith's early work has been partly supplemented and partly replaced by an artistic ideal which is in distinct contrast to anything to be found in the nineteenth century. The social and economic conditions of the whole Western world, and of Central Europe in particular, have led creative artists to search for an immediate social justification for their work. Ordinarily the work of an artist, even though he be in advance of his time, needs no other justification than its creator's sincerity; by the very appreciation which it receives it "pays its way." The attempt, nevertheless, of Hindemith and others among his contemporaries to contribute an immediate richness to a wide group of listeners and performers, led them to a new concept: *Gebrauchsmusik* (music for use).

The *Gebrauchsmusik* concept established, in the minds of many composers, a new social function for music. *When the social function of music changes, a change may also be expected in the music!* Hindemith had already written music for performance by school children and music in which the adult audience was expected to take part. His concept included, moreover, serious attention to all the types of music by which he earned his living as a youth. His studio in Berlin was equipped with recording apparatus, with which he conducted experiments to control scientifically the use of the basic musical materials. Hindemith even anticipated the time when music paper would no longer be a

necessity; composers would be able to write their music directly on a recording film!

Gebrauchsmusik was, of course, a sincere product of a period in which all sincerity was baffled. The social changes which have previously wrought a new music have made themselves felt unconsciously. The element of *Gebrauchsmusik* which was an attempt to *write down* to a large public could not always be employed with Hindemith's sincerity; the extent to which it was artificial was the measure of its failure.

Weill

Weill is a pupil of Busoni who has attracted attention through his popular *Dreigroschenoper* (three-groschen opera).¹ He, too, was attracted by *Gebrauchsmusik*; his desire to write popularly has produced the radio piece *Lindbergh's Flight* and several other gay and jazzy stage pieces. Since his arrival in the United States he has been busy writing "popular" music for Broadway and Hollywood.

Italy

The renaissance of Italian music is partly a projection into the twentieth century of the nationalism that appeared elsewhere in the nineteenth century. It is characterized by a vital interest in the great Italians of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and is, by comparison with much of the "modernism" of northern Europe, rather conservative. In one respect, however, it is distinctly revolutionary: the modern Italians have moved away from the once overwhelming interest in opera and have turned enthusiastically to instrumental music.

The symphonies of Beethoven and the music dramas of Wagner, to mention only two of the more powerful northern influences, have gradually attracted Italians. The immense popularity in Italy of Liszt drew their attention even more directly to instrumental

¹ A more adequate but less literal translation might be "two-bit opera."

music. Other factors might be noted, such as Busoni's stay in Bologna. Altogether there has been a distinct revolution in Italian creative activity. The fact that northern influences have been late in arriving in Italy accounts for the apparent conservatism of some of the outstanding contemporary Italian composers.

Ottorino Respighi

Respighi (1879-1936) was a native of Bologna. His earliest works were operas, but after the first World War he devoted himself almost entirely to instrumental compositions. He composed one work for the Russian Ballet, *La botique fantasque*, based upon themes taken from Rossini's operas. His international reputation is due, however, to the popularity of the two symphonic poems, *The Fountains of Rome* and *The Pines of Rome*. Other important works are the "Gregorian Concerto" for violin and orchestra, several songs, and not a little chamber music.

Although Respighi has adopted some of the iconoclasm of his northern contemporaries, scoring, for instance, a phonograph record of a nightingale in one of his symphonic poems, he refused to be drawn into the vanguard of revolutionary controversy.

Francesco Malipiero

Malipiero, born in Venice in 1882, was a student at the *Liceo musicale* in Bologna; later he became a pupil of Max Bruch in Berlin. His important works include a few pieces for the stage and the following orchestral compositions: *Sinfonia del mare*; *Sinfonia del silenzio e della morte*; *Impressioni dal vero*; *Pause del silenzio*; *Ditirambo tragico*; and *Armenia*. He has also written much chamber music, among which must be mentioned the string quartet which won the Coolidge prize in 1920. More recently he has edited, for publication, the complete works of Monteverde. Malipiero's work reflects an originality which has led him to some of the unconventionalities which have become a traditional aspect of modernism.

Pizzetti, Casella, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco

Alfredo Casella (1883) and Ildebrando Pizzetti (1880) belong to the same generation as Respighi and Malipiero. The work of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895) belongs to a later period.

Casella is one of Italy's most enthusiastic disciples of modernism, and is in large part responsible for Italian interest in both nationalism and the new music. As a young man he was a student of Fauré in Paris, where he began the international reputation which has brought him fame in America. His works include much music for the piano, some chamber music, and orchestra music which reflects European trends from impressionism to neoclassicism.

Pizzetti is a talented composer whose interest in instrumental music has led him to combine a modern idiom with classic forms. He has written operas, songs, chamber music, and several works for orchestra.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was a pupil of Pizzetti. He has, in a manner similar to that of his teacher, sought to combine old vocal forms with modern idiom. During the second World War he has been active in Hollywood as a composer of film music.

Italian Opera

The most recent indications are that the modern Italians have not completely lost interest in opera, which is really their national form, but are patiently working their way into a new conception of opera which will not only be satisfactory as stage music but will also grow naturally out of modernism. The present period may be interpreted simply as being a lull between the works of Puccini and the Italian opera of the future.

Russia: Prokofieff

Aside from Stravinsky, who must be regarded as a cosmopolitan figure, Serge Prokofieff (1891) is the outstanding pre-Soviet

Russian composer with an international reputation who has retained his connection with musical development in his own country. He is a composer of virile music in which classic forms and dissonant harmony are combined with angular melody and vigorous, almost barbaric, rhythm. He is best known for his *Classical Symphony* and the opera, *The Love of Three Oranges*. Besides other symphonic works and much music for the piano, Prokofieff has written much film music and has attracted much attention with a work for orchestra and narrator, *Peter and the Wolf*.

Other composers whose styles were formed before the 1917 Revolution, but who remained in Russia, are Reinhold Glière (1875), Nicolas Miaskovsky (1881), and Nicolas Medtner (1879).

Soviet Music

Before the first World War the music of Russia was well on its way toward becoming the most important single influence in the development of western twentieth-century music. The 1917 Revolution internationalized Russia's most important composer and set up a barrier between Russia and western Europe which was, for composers, less physical than ideological.

For some years after the Revolution, conditions in Russia were so difficult that any general cultivation of the arts was impossible. By 1924, however, the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians (RAPM) was ready to adopt a platform which attempted to distinguish between bourgeois and proletarian music, thus outlining the field in which Soviet composers could work. Although RAPM was dissolved by governmental decree in 1932, its emphasis on the belief that Soviet music could and must be an expression of Marxist doctrine, that music must "follow the party line," and that all music produced in Russia must be subjected to Marxist musical criticism, has set the pattern for Soviet composers. This doctrine has not prevented the growth of an active group of younger composers in Russia. The twentieth century has produced almost as many varieties of musical aesthetics as it has composers. If there is any "rightness" involved in aesthetics,

some of these varieties must be wrong. Quite apparently the rightness or wrongness of a composer's musical philosophy is not important; what is important is that he believe in what he is doing. Soviet Russia has produced composers of high talent who believe in what they are doing. Few of this large group are known outside of Russia. Of these, Leo Knipper (1898), Nicolas Lopatnikov (1903), Nicolas Nabokov (1903), Gabriel Popov (1904), Dimitri Kabalevsky (1904), and Dimitri Shostakovitch (1906) deserve mention.

Shostakovitch

Dimitri Shostakovitch, more than any other figure, has attracted attention to Soviet music. He has won a grand prize offered by the Russian government and he has been censured for music which failed to follow the party line. To outsiders, his music is as understandable as music as it apparently is as musical propaganda to Russians. His nine symphonies are the work of a man who has great facility in an idiom which is crisp, often humorous and striking, but seldom profound. His wartime popularity outside of Russia was probably partly the result of nonmusical propaganda and, as must be true with any contemporary composer, a more than superficial estimation of his true stature must await return performances. The directness and simplicity which the Russian audience apparently demands from its composers may be a light in the wilderness of twentieth-century music.

England

Twentieth-century England has produced a large number of composers whose works, because of modernist tendencies, have received notice since the first World War. None of them, unfortunately, has reached the stature of the Continental leaders: Martin Shaw (1876), Roger Quilter (1877), Rutland Boughton (1878), John Ireland (1879), Cyril Scott (1879), Frank Bridge (1879-1941), Arnold Bax (1883), Lord Berners (1883).

Younger men who are attracting attention are William Walton (1902), Constant Lambert (1905), and Benjamin Britten (1913).

Other National Groups

Numerous other composers, whose importance will either fade or increase as time passes, but who at present express merely a healthy activity, are continuing, with varying reflection of the outstanding modern trends, the nationalistic musical aspirations of the smaller European countries. In the Ukraine, Karel Szymanowsky (1883-1937) and, in Poland, Alexandre Tansman (1897) should be mentioned; in Sweden, Hugo Alfvén (1872); and Kurt Atterberg (1887), who won the Schubert Centennial (1928) prize with a symphony. In Czechoslovakia, Alois Haba (1893) has attracted considerable attention with his attempts to write music in which he uses quarter-tone intervals. Joaquín Turina (1882), a Spaniard, has continued to draw inspiration from Spanish sources, Joaquín Nin y Castellanos (1883), a Cuban, and Hector Villa-Lobos (1890), a Brazilian, have attracted international attention.

Change or Progress?

Much of the critical writing about twentieth-century music has been done by composers. Many of the opportunities to hear twentieth-century music have been organized by composers for composers. These are danger signals, for they imply a barbed question: "Who else is there to hear this music and write about it?" The critical writing about music involves another very grave danger. Composers should realize that their tastes, from the very nature of their necessity to develop an individual and, to them, vital style, must be sharply drawn and firmly held. They cannot afford to be eclectic. But unless each generation is to have only one composer, the *audience* for all composers must have an eclectic taste. This broad taste cannot be founded on the verbally expressed prejudices of composers; on that foundation all music can

be proved bad—which is what too large a part of the twentieth-century audience wants to be told about modern music.

This tendency of the composer to turn journalistic critic of his contemporaries points to what is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of music between the wars: its instability. That instability has found expression in other ways, chief among which has been the willingness on the part of composers to go to any extreme in their search for originality. It seems evident that a reaction from the most extreme phase of modernism has begun, but there is a suspicion in some cases that even this is partly the radical turning to the once most abhorrent extreme, conventionality. No one can say how much of the newly explored territory is valid and will be retained. There is, however, no doubt that modernism has added new and exceedingly valuable materials to musical art. But from a contemporary perspective it is impossible accurately to draw the line between change and progress.

Readings

Lazare Saminsky	<i>Music of Our Day</i>
Cecil Gray	<i>Contemporary Music</i>
Leonid Sabaneyeff	<i>Modern Russian Composers</i>
Aaron Copland	<i>Our New Music</i>
Nicolas Slonimisky	<i>Music Since 1900</i>
Ernst Krenek	<i>Music Here and Now</i>
John Tasker Howard	<i>This Modern Music</i>
E. B. Hill	<i>Modern French Music</i>
Alfred J. Swan	<i>Music, 1900-1930</i>
R. W. S. Mendl	<i>The Appeal of Jazz</i>
<i>Modern Music</i>	(See complete files)
<i>The Chesterian</i>	(See complete files)
Heinrich Strobel	<i>Paul Hindemith</i>
F. J. Marcan Verlag	
(publisher)	<i>Von neuer Musik</i>
<i>Die Musik</i>	(Consult contemporary issues)
R. Westphal	<i>Die moderne Musik</i>
André George	<i>Arthur Honegger</i>
Darius Milhaud	<i>Etude</i>

Part Nine:

Music in America

PROLOGUE: THE TRANSPLANTATION OF A CULTURE

MOST twentieth-century Americans spend very little time looking backward. If they did, they might discover some interesting relationships. An American could count, at the very most, hardly more than twelve generations of ancestors who lived on this continent. Most Americans would have to cross the Atlantic long before they got back to the twelfth generation. An American Protestant could count, at the very most, hardly more than fifteen generations of ancestors who were Protestants. To how many American Protestants has it occurred, for instance, to say: "My ancestors helped to build St. Peter's in Rome; my ancestors worshiped in the Cathedral so recently destroyed in Munich or Vienna; my forebears were taught and inspired by the windows of Paris or Chartres; my people, for vastly more generations than they have been Americans, were Europeans."

Americans speak with pride of things which seem to them to be truly American: skyscrapers, Fords, chewing gum! But they have only to open their eyes to see themselves surrounded with things which had their origin in Europe: Greek temples, Florentine museums, Gothic and Romanesque churches, German hymn tunes and beer,

Italian plain song and Parmesan, English language and law, Spanish guitars and olives, Swiss watches and cheese, Norwegian sardines.

The history of anything American must begin in Europe. America is a part of the Western World. American culture is part of Western culture. European culture is not foreign: it is as much a part of the heritage of every one of us as are our ancestors who lived before any European dreamed of the existence of our continent.

American music is then, except perhaps for some recent trimmings, European music in America. Our whole study has been, in a sense, a history of American music. These last chapters can tell only of the transplantation of a part of our culture to a new environment, by people who also were being transplanted. That process has been a long one, often retarded by conditions which were unfavorable.

We stand, however, at the threshold of a new period in which the future of Western culture has been entrusted to the people on the western shores of the Atlantic. It will probably become increasingly clear that the frustration expressed by the music of the early twentieth century has been a symptom, along with many others, of a world that is changing its center. The transplantation is almost complete; the new growth has begun; its roots are finding new fertility and its fruit may give fresh nurture to the human spirit.

In the process by which European music has been transplanted in America several distinct phases are discernible, each of which coincides with a definite period in American history. They may be indicated as follows:

- 1. Dependence on England and to a lesser extent on other "old-country" homelands, qualified by the isolation*

of the new settlements from each other and from Europe—the Colonial Period.

2. *End of isolation between settlements and increased contacts with the music of Continental European countries—the period between the Revolution and the Civil War.*

3. *America as the “promised land” for many European musicians: Americans study abroad, looking largely to Germany—the period from after the Civil War until roughly the beginning of the first World War.*

4. *The growing independence of American music, a phase which began slowly late in the nineteenth century and which has gathered momentum until the present. America has finally become the refuge for European musicians; it has become the center of the musical world; and after a short period of digestion it will probably no longer feel self-conscious of its need to be anything else but natural in its use and production of music.*

4I

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

New England

BECAUSE the colonists in New England were largely responsible for the cultural tone of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America, their use of music furnishes a point of departure for the story of music in the New World. The first New Englanders were spiritually allied to the English Puritans, but, because of the difficulties of colonial life, they had even less interest

in music than the English of like belief. The extent to which the Puritans in England allowed a brilliant musical tradition to be forgotten has already been emphasized. The colonial Puritans brought with them a definite Psalm-singing tradition, but the first sign of musical activity, the publication, in 1640, of the *Bay Psalm Book*, was accompanied by regulations forbidding secular music.

The Bay Psalm Book

The publication of the first edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* grew out of the desire of the early colonists to have not only their own metrical version of the Psalms, but also a better version than they had brought from England. The early editions of the book contained no music; consequently, the original tunes were either forgotten or garbled beyond recognition. This was inevitable, not only because of the isolation and difficult life of the colonists, but also because the new versions of the Psalms *did not easily fit the old tunes*. Not until 1690 was any attempt made to print music. In 1698 the ninth edition of the *Bay Psalm Book* contained thirteen tunes, inserted at the back of the book, and harmonized for two parts, but this did little to relieve the chaotic condition of church music.

The First Tune Books

The condition of church music became so bad toward the end of the seventeenth century that arguments were advanced for dispensing with it altogether. This was met by a small group of clergymen who saw the necessity for teaching people how to sing properly. Shortly after the beginning of the eighteenth century, the earliest of the long series of American tune books appeared. Reverend John Tufts published *A very plain and easy introduction to the Whole Art of Singing Psalm Tunes*. This book may have been published as early as 1712. Its influence began to be felt about 1720. It was the earliest known of the

American psalm singers' attempts to devise an easily readable substitute for conventional musical notation, using letters on the staff instead of note forms. Its title hints at a relationship to the English instruction books of Morley and Playford.

In 1721 Rev. Thomas Walter published his *Grounds and Rules of Musick explained: or an introduction to the Art of Singing by Note*, which began with a section devoted to instruction in musicianship and note reading. His book, with its implication that a minimum of skill was necessary to the adequate performance of even the congregational Psalms, was a symptom of a controversy which engaged the attention of ministers and laymen for some time. There were many supporters of the old method of "lining out" the hymns who felt that any change was wrong. Others belonged to a group which would dispense with singing altogether. But most ministers were in favor of "singing by note," and they supported the new practice by sermons and tracts which were printed and widely circulated. The principal result was that congregations and choirs began to meet in singing schools, directed by the most musical or loudest-voiced member, using one of the tune books which began to appear in a fairly steady stream after the examples set by Tufts and Walter.

Singing Schools

The singing schools gradually became an important institution not only in the religious but in the social life of the northern colonies. Their repertoire was gradually broadened to include choruses from such works as the oratorios of Handel, and later, Haydn, and they eventually developed, after much preliminary activity, into such organizations as the Stoughton (Mass.) Musical Society (1786) and the Boston Handel and Haydn Society (1815). The characteristically English need to engage in chorus singing was thus firmly transplanted to the new land, first as a part of the service of the Puritan church and later as a more or less independent musical activity.

The First Organ

With the increased interest in choral singing, an interest in the use of musical instruments, especially the organ, began to be noticeable. In 1711 Mr. Thomas Brattle of Boston imported a small organ. He had hoped to have it used in the Brattle Square Church where it was to have been placed at his death in 1713. It was characteristic, however, that the church of his choice refused it, and it was placed in King's Chapel where it was played by an organist who had to be brought from England. From this beginning the use of the organ spread gradually through the eighteenth century to most of New England.

Instruments and Concerts

As the population of Boston became more cosmopolitan—it was a seaport town—more and more secular music made its appearance. In 1685 Mr. Stepney, a dancing master, had trouble with the authorities. Trumpets and drums, fiddles, “bass vyols,” “haut-boys,” “Virginalls,” and “Spinnetts” make their appearance in the records, and eventually, in 1731, a “concert of Music” was advertised for “Mr. Pelham's great Room.” A couple of years later Karl Theodor Pachelbel, son of the German organist who was one of J. S. Bach's predecessors, was in Boston, probably engaged in giving concerts. Other evidence indicates that gradually a good deal of music came to be heard in Boston, even though some of it was frowned upon by the church authorities. In 1745 Edward Bromfield, Jr., built an organ in Boston, “a most accurate Organ, with two rows of keys and many hundred pipes; his intention being twelve hundred, but died before he completed it.” In 1769, Josiah Flagg began the manufacture of harpsichords and spinets in Boston. In 1764 he had published, in an edition for which the plates were engraved by Paul Revere, his *Collection of Best Psalm Tunes*. This book was followed in 1766 by a volume of anthems. Flagg was active in other ways. He organized and directed a militia band and proceeded to give

concerts of "vocal and instrumental musick accompanied by French horns, hautboys, etc. by the band of the 64th Regiment." The few programs of these concerts which were printed in the newspapers indicate that the Bostonians were hearing about the same music that was being heard in London and Vienna at the same time: overtures and symphonies (at the short period in music history when the two names were almost synonymous) by Handel, Schwindl, Abel, Stamitz, and Bach (one of J. S. Bach's sons, probably Johann Christian).

William Billings

William Billings (1746-1800) was the most interesting individual who developed from the pre-Revolutionary musical environment in New England. Uneducated, and a tanner by trade, he had a zeal for chorus singing and a knack for writing attractive tunes which made him a strong influence in New England. He was not expert technically, but his *fuguing* tunes are a curious example of the influence exerted in America by the music of composers like Handel which was just then coming across the ocean. Billings' interest in music was so strong that he gave up his trade and tried to earn his living conducting singing schools and writing and publishing tune books. Billings' tune books are a landmark in the story of American music:

New England Psalm-Singer, 1770

Singing Master's Assistant, 1778

Music in Miniature, 1779

Psalm-Singer's Amusement, 1781

Suffolk Harmony, 1786

Continental Harmony, 1794

Almost everything in these books was original with Billings: tunes, texts, harmony, rules of composition. But it was heartfelt music, primitive in the best sense, and it was widely sung. If one is to judge by the way his pieces were reprinted in other collections, he had an immense vogue. For example, *The Worcester*

Collection of Sacred Harmony in its fifth edition printed in 1794 contained fourteen pieces by Billings, one of them an anthem for Easter. Not only was his music reprinted in other collections, but his "fuguing" method was imitated by nearly every other writer of tunes during his time such as Oliver Brownson, Timothy Swan (1758-1842), and Daniel Read (1757-1836).

The flavor of Billings' approach to music can be gotten by reading the prefaces to some of his books. The complete title of his first book was as follows: "*The New England Psalm-Singer: or American Chorister. Containing a number of Psalm-tunes, Anthems and Canons. In Four and Five Parts. (Never before published.) Composed by William Billings, a Native of Boston, in New England. Math. 21, 16. Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings has thou perfected Praise. James 5, 13. Is any Merry? Let him sing Psalms.*" Its preface, in part, was as follows:

To all musical Practitioners.

Perhaps it may be expected by some, that I could say something concerning rules for composition; to these I answer that *Nature is the best Dictator*, for all the hard dry studied rules that ever were prescribed will not enable any person to form an Air any more than the bare knowledge of the four and twenty letters, and strict Grammatical rules will qualify a scholar for composing a piece of Poetry or properly adjusting a Tragedy without a Genius. It must be Nature; Nature must lay the Foundation, Nature must give the Thought. But perhaps some may think I mean and intend to throw Art entirely out of Question, I answer by no Means, for the more Art is displayed, the more Nature is decorated. And in some sorts of composition, there is dry Study requir'd, and Art very requisite. For instance in a Fuge. But even there Art is subservient to Genius, for Fancy goes first, and strikes out the Work roughly, and Art comes after and polishes it over. But to return to my Text: I have read several Authors Rules on Composition, and find the strictest of them make some exceptions, as thus, they say that two 8vos or two 5ths may not be taken to-

gether rising or falling, unless one be Major and the other Minor; but rather than spoil the Air, they will allow that Breach to be made, and this allowance gives great Latitude to young Composers, for they may always make that Plea and say, if I am not allowed to transgress the Rules of Composition I shall certainly spoil the Air, and cross the Strain that Fancy dictated: And indeed this is without dispute a very just Plea, for I am sure I have often and sensibly felt the disagreeable and slavish Effect of such Restraint as is here pointed out. . . .

For my own part, as I don't think myself confined to any Rules for Composition laid down by any that went before me, neither should I think (were I to pretend to lay down rules) that any who comes after me were any ways obligated to adhere to them any further than they should think proper: so in fact I think it is best for every composer to be his own learner. . . .

Billings had the forgivable enthusiasm of a pioneer. But he was an honest musician, and in the preface to his second book, which came to be called "Billings' Best," the *Singing Master's Assistant*, he confessed that, "After impartial examination, I have discovered that many pieces were never worth my printing or your inspection. . . ."

Billings' music was severely criticized by those of his contemporaries who had had some conventional musical training, but it was received with enthusiasm by the singing schools and was used, even in concert performances, as far away as Philadelphia. One of his tunes, *Chester*, was a Revolutionary War "hit." It appeared in the hymn collections with its original text, but its composer made new words for its patriotic use. It is given here with the first verse of each text. Notice that, as was the general practice during the eighteenth century, the melody is given to the tenor. Billings called his parts Treble (soprano), Counter (alto), Tenor, and Bass.

The fuguing tunes are neither fugues nor canons. They make use of a primitive point of imitation which must have given

CHESTER

1. Let the high heav'ns your songs in - vite,
2. Let ty - rants shake their ir - on rod,

Those spa - cious fields of bril - liant light;
And slav - 'ry clank her gal - ling chains,

Where sun, and moon, — and plan - ets roll,
 We fear them not, — We trust — in God,

Where sun, and moon, and — plan - ets roll,
 We fear them not, We — trust — in God,

And stars that glow from pole — to pole.
 New Eng-land's God for - ev - er reigns.

And — stars that glow — from pole — to pole.
 New — Eng-land's God — for - ev - er reigns.

singers who were used to singing sedate psalms and hymns a great deal of pleasure. The following example begins with the thirteenth measure of the tune *Philadelphia*.

Billings lived until after the Revolution, and the activity which he represented marked the end of the colonial period in New England. By comparison with the Vienna of Haydn and Mozart it was meager and primitive, but it demonstrated that the descendants of the Puritans, handicapped culturally by the demands put on their energies by the wilderness, needed music. They made music, they transplanted the vital English choral tradition to their new land, they applied their "Yankee ingenuity" to the teaching of music, and they produced in Billings at least one lusty composer.

The Middle Colonies

New England was settled by colonists from England who dreamed of a life organized around a concept of religious and political organization which was unattainable in the homeland. The Middle Colonies, New York (New Amsterdam), New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, were settled by men and women whose motivations were much more complex and whose national origins were vastly more heterogeneous. Here, before the end of the seventeenth century, the outlines of the American melting-pot were visible. Dutch, sent by the West India Company, established a trading post on Manhattan Island. As they prospered, they brought groups of French and Flemish artisans to the new colony and moved up the Hudson toward Albany and across it to New Jersey. Swedes and Finns settled on the lower Delaware. In 1664 the English took over the Dutch settlements and New Amsterdam became New York. William Penn established the English Quakers at Philadelphia and opened the way for the immigrations, late in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries, of the German and Swiss sectarians and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. New Englanders, dissatisfied with, or victims of, the intolerance of early Congregationalism, left Massachusetts and established themselves in new settlements across the Middle Colonies. As a

PHILADELPHIA

And all the

And

And all the world, O

And all the world, O Lord O

world, O Lord combine, And

all the world O Lord

Lord combine to praise

Lord, combine to praise

consequence of this multiformity, music, in its transplantation to the central settlements, showed as much variety as did the colonists themselves.

New York

The musical activity of the Dutch in New Amsterdam, if it existed at all, remains a blank page in the history of music in America. This is also true of the early years of the English régime. Music in church and some music for dancing must have been cultivated, but it has left virtually no record of its existence. In 1736 the Pachelbel who had provided concerts for Boston audiences was advertising similar undertakings in New York. In 1744 a concert for the benefit of Mr. John Rice, the organist at Trinity Church, was announced. In 1750, according to Ritter,¹ *The Beggar's Opera* was produced in New York. In 1754 William Tuckey, a native of England, advertised in the *New York Mercury*:

. . . and as there is no person in this country duly qualified in the musical way, who has made a practice of teaching but himself, not only in church musick, in all its branches, viz. Services, Anthems, Chaunts, Responses and Psalms, according to the English, Dutch, French or Italian method; but also in the knowledge of a thorough base, and composing musick in parts both vocal and instrumental; management of musick for concerts, etc. he humbly hopes, through this information, to meet with better encouragement, or at least to establish the singing of parochial Psalmes on a better and perfecter foundation than it hath been for some time past. He will undertake to compose or set to musick any piece on any subject, divine or moral, either in prose or verse, and adapt the musick according to the sense of the subject, for either a single voice, two, three, four or more voices, and for any sort of instruments, with or without a thorough base, for the organ, harpsichord, or spinnet, on application to him, and moderate satisfaction. . . .

¹ Ritter, *Music in America*.

Tuckey was one of the leaders in New York musical life for a quarter of a century. Some of his compositions were heard with approval and were printed in the tune books which followed the pattern of those of New England.

Concerts, theater music, teachers of music, are mentioned with increasing regularity in the newspapers, indicating that in the dozen years before the Revolution New York had a fairly active musical life.

Pennsylvania

In founding his colony in the New World, William Penn gave form to a set of beliefs which could hardly be maintained in a permanent equilibrium. Unlike the Puritans in New England, the Quakers were not willing to establish a state church. In keeping with their beliefs, they offered complete freedom of worship to people of all denominations. Although they would not establish their religious beliefs by law, while they were in a majority in the new colony they felt justified in enacting their views on morality into law. Thus the theater was prohibited and music and dancing were frowned upon. The predominantly Quaker communities had no place for music until the Quakers themselves came to be a minority. Thus the records of public concerts in Philadelphia cannot be traced earlier than 1757. It may be surmised that Christ Church (Anglican), which was founded in 1695, made the usual use of music in its service. A new building, begun in 1728, was equipped with an organ. St. Joseph's, the first Roman Catholic church in Philadelphia, had an organ and a well-trained choir in 1750, twenty years after its first building was erected.

As Quaker morality began to loosen its hold on a city which was rapidly becoming cosmopolitan, concerts and theatrical performances began to be heard. In 1759 students of the College of Philadelphia performed Arne's *Masque of Alfred*, and two years later *The Beggar's Opera* was performed at the New Theater. Teachers of music began to solicit pupils, and there is evidence that music could be heard in many private homes. In the years

just before the Revolution music in Philadelphia was much like that of Boston and New York.

Francis Hopkinson

Considerable effort has been given to finding the first *native* American composer. Very little is to be gained by being positive about who he was. In any case, Francis Hopkinson (1737-1791) seems to be one of the leading contenders for the honor to which he nominated himself in the Preface to his *Seven Songs*. He was a native of Philadelphia, a member of the first class to graduate from the College of Philadelphia, active in public affairs, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a musical amateur of considerable attainment. His song, "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free," was composed in 1759. In 1788 he published, with a dedication to George Washington, a work entitled *Seven Songs, for harpsichord or forte piano*. In writing of his work in the Preface to this collection, Hopkinson said: "If these Songs should not be so fortunate as to please the young Performers for whom they are intended, they will at least not occasion much Trouble in learning to perform them; and this will, I hope, be some Alleviation of their Disappointment." Hopkinson was a man of much greater cultivation than his New England contemporary, William Billings. In all modesty, he hoped that through his example, "others may be encouraged to venture on a path, yet untrodden in America, and the Arts in succession will take root and flourish amongst us."

* *James Lyon*

Another man who may have a just claim to the title of first native American composer was James Lyon (1735-1794). Lyon was born in Newark, educated for the Presbyterian ministry at Princeton (then New Jersey College), and later attended the College of Philadelphia. He composed an Ode, set to music, for the 1759 Commencement at Princeton and an anthem for a like occasion in Philadelphia in 1761. During his stay in Phila-

delphia—most of his mature life was spent as a minister in Nova Scotia and Maine—he produced the work which is his chief claim to importance, a tune book entitled: *Urania, or a Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Hymns*. Most of the music in *Urania* came from the same sources which were being used by all compilers, but it also included six tunes composed by Lyon. Other collections, extending into the nineteenth century, contained compositions by Lyon, indicating that his music had a continuing popularity.

Kelpius and Falckner

The Germans and Swedes, however, gave signs of original musical activity almost at the moment of their arrival in the new colony. In 1694 Johannes Kelpius led a group of Pietists to Germantown and then to their own settlement outside the city. Kelpius was not only a religious leader but also a hymnologist and composer. Several other members of his group were musicians, and Christopher Witt, who joined the group in 1704, was an organ builder. Kelpius was probably the earliest musician to come to Pennsylvania. A manuscript of his hymns and music is still extant.

Justus Falckner came with Kelpius to Pennsylvania. Writing to friends in Germany in 1700 he said in part: "I will here take occasion to mention that many others beside myself, who know the ways of this land, maintain that music would contribute much toward a good Christian service. . . . Instrumental music is especially serviceable here. Thus a well-sounding organ would perhaps prove of great profit . . ." In 1703 Falckner was ordained at the then unfinished Swedish Lutheran Church, Gloria Dei (Old Swedes), with music furnished by choir, organ, viol, oboe, trombones, and kettle drums.

The Ephrata Cloister: Beissel

One of the interesting short chapters in the story of music in America is furnished by the activity of Johann Conrad Beissel at Ephrata. Beissel settled there in 1725 and gradually attracted

a group of people who were willing to follow his teachings. Beissel was establishing a new sect, and when he felt the need for a hymnology and its accompanying music, he drew upon his own sources of inspiration to produce it. The result was the composition of nearly a thousand hymns with their musical settings. These hymns were written for from two to seven parts and were gathered together in several large collections, the best known of which had the following curious title: *Der Gesang der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube Nämlich der Christlichen Kirche.* (*The Songs of the Solitary and deserted Turtle-Dove, namely, the Christian Church.*) This book, containing texts only, was printed at Ephrata in 1747. It included, as part of its Foreword, Beissel's dissertation on harmony—an attempt on the part of an almost completely untrained musician to construct a musical theory by which he and his friends would be enabled to harmonize their own hymn tunes. The *Turtel-Taube* was followed in 1754 by the *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel*. Part of the title describes the work: “. . . consisting of a wholly new and extraordinary way of singing, arranged in the manner of the angelic and heavenly choirs. . . .” None of the music was printed, but it remains in beautiful manuscript books which have found their way into libraries and private collections. Beissel and his colleagues needed music in their daily life on the frontier, and what they needed they found a way to make. What they did remains today not as an integral part of the life stream of American music, but as an isolated curiosity. The example cited here, from the *Turtel-Taube*, will, however, repay some study.

The musical score is presented on four staves. The first two staves are for vocal parts (Soprano and Alto), and the last two are for instrumental parts (Tenor and Bass). The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are in German and are repeated for two different versions of the hymn.

1. Die Welt ist mir ein bitt - 'rer Tod,
 2. Drum acht ich we - der Freud noch Leid,

1. Die Welt ist mir ein bitt - 'rer Tod,
 2. Drum acht ich we - der Freud noch Leid,

und macht mir oft viel Schmerz und Wund-en: doch wird in die-ser
 noch ein - ig - Ding auf die - ser Erd-en: weil mir in je - ner

und macht mir oft viel Schmerz und Wund-en: doch wird in die-ser
 noch ein - ig - Ding auf die - ser Erd-en: weil mir in je - ner

Leid - ens Noth zu - letzt ein bes - ser Gut ge - fund - en.
 Ew - ig - keit ein bes - ser Theil da - für wird werd - en

Leid - ens Noth zu - letzt ein bes - ser Gut ge - fund - en.
 Ew - ig - keit ein bes - ser Theil da - für wird werd - en

The Moravians

The Moravian Brethren began their own settlements in Pennsylvania, after an unsuccessful attempt in Georgia, in 1740. Bethlehem was begun and named in 1741, and other settlements followed in rapid succession. The Moravians brought with them a highly developed musical liturgy and a tradition which made use of a great deal of secular music. They needed well-trained performers and teachers of music, both choral and instrumental, and many of their clergymen were composers with a sound European training. Here, then, the German musical tradition received its first important transplantation to America. It must be remembered that the transplantation was made by Germans to

a land that was eventually to be English-speaking, by a simple peace-loving people whose chief motivation was the missionary work in which they were engaged. Their musical influence was not to be as strong as that of much less cultivated New England, but it is hardly fair to suggest that a tradition which led directly to the present Bethlehem Bach Festival had only local eighteenth-century significance.

In 1742 Christopher Saur of Germantown printed a little collection of hymns, *Hirten Lieder von Bethlehem*, for the Bethlehem Congregation. In 1744 the Bethlehem *Collegium Musicum* was founded. The members of the *Collegium* performed a wide range of the best instrumental music of the time. As it grew, its repertoire included chamber and orchestral music of Haydn and Mozart and of all of the other composers whose music was being played in Europe at the same time. Instrumentalists accompanied the choir and congregation in religious services and performed for other events outside the church. The diaries of congregations and individuals make frequent mention of the arrival from Europe and subsequent use of musical instruments, and give accounts of performances and of the movement of musicians from one settlement to another. At no time were the Moravian towns without their own composers. It would be beside the point to look upon these men as composers of American music. They were trained in the only environment where musical training was possible, Europe. They were transplanting a culture, and until that culture had made a complete transit and had been adapted to a new environment, they were fulfilling their only possible function in America.

The earliest Moravians in Bethlehem included two men whose compositions are still to be found in the Moravian archives. They were John C. Pyrlaeus and Christian F. Oerter. They composed rather simple liturgical services for local use.

John Frederick Peter

John Frederick Peter came to Bethlehem in 1770. His musical and pastoral activities took him to all of the Moravian towns.

From 1793 until his death in 1813 he was the chief musician of Bethlehem. Under his leadership the music at Bethlehem undoubtedly excelled that of any other spot in the country. He was responsible for the performance of Haydn and Mozart symphonies while those two composers were still alive. In 1811 he directed a performance of Haydn's *Creation*. His own compositions mark him as a man whose music could have stood comparison with that of many of his European contemporaries. He composed nearly forty anthems for choruses with the accompaniment of organ and orchestra. The part writing indicates that he had performers who had facility of a high grade. His most remarkable work is a set of five string quintets.²

Other Moravian Composers

John G. Herbst, later Bishop, was active in Bethlehem, Lititz, Pennsylvania, and in Salem, North Carolina. He was a prolific composer of anthems, with accompaniments scored for orchestral instruments, for special occasions.

John Antes, a native American whose father was one of the local agents for the early Moravians, was the composer of several anthems, among which are the earliest settings of English texts to be found in the Moravian archives. He is said to have composed string quartets, but this has been impossible to confirm. The library of the Lititz *Collegium Musicum* contained several string quartets of Haydn in Antes' handwriting. There is also a tradition that Antes constructed a string quartet of instruments. The present writer has examined a viola which carried a label indicating that it was made by Antes.

David Moritz Michael, John C. Bechler, George Godfrey Mueller, Christian Schropp, and Peter Wolle were other Moravian composers who deserve mention. Their work, however, fell largely in the period following the Revolution.

² These quintets are available in score from the New York Public Library, as are other works of Peter and his Moravian colleagues.

Organ Building

The Middle Colonies were probably the setting for the first organ builders in America. Christopher Witt, who came from England in 1703 to join Kelpius, is said to have built small organs. Gustavus Hesselius began to build an organ for the Bethlehem church in 1744. It was delivered and installed in 1746 by a Moravian organ builder who had settled in Philadelphia, John Klemm. Klemm was joined by David Tanneberger, who came to America in 1757. After Klemm died in 1762, Tanneberger became the leading organ builder of the colonies. He set up his shop in Lititz in 1765 and continued to build organs until his death in 1804. Tanneberger built organs for churches in many places in Pennsylvania and for places as far removed as Albany, New York, Baltimore, Maryland, and Salem, North Carolina.

The Southern Colonies

Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were established as English colonies between 1607 (Jamestown, Virginia) and 1733 (Georgia). Although the plantation life which developed retarded the growth of cities, it produced a type of society which made some graceful use of the arts inevitable. Charleston, Williamsburg, Baltimore, Savannah, and a few other places reproduced, on a minute scale, the atmosphere which might have been found in London. Concerts were advertised in Charleston as early as 1732 and in other cities somewhat later. The Pachelbel who has been noticed in Boston and New York was in Charleston for a concert in 1737. Concerts in the southern towns were usually followed by dancing, and performers often attracted attendance by announcing that music would be furnished for dancing after the concert.

The newspaper records indicate that English, French, Italian, and German musicians taught music and dancing, offering lessons on such instruments as the harpsichord, guitar, French horn, oboe, and violin. Professional performers from Europe ap-

parently furnished the largest part of the music that was heard south of Baltimore. Of church choirs, singing schools, native performers, and composers so little note was taken that it can be supposed that they hardly existed.

In 1762 the musically interested people of Charleston organized the St. Cæcilia Society for the purpose of providing themselves with concerts. This was the first organization of its kind in the English colonies. The early activity of the society is not clear, but later in the century it imported and subsidized enough musicians to assure the continuation of a concert season. It inserted this advertisement, for instance, in the Boston *Evening Post* in 1771:

The *St. Cæcilia Society* give notice that they will engage with, and give suitable encouragement to musicians properly qualified to perform at their *Concert*, provided they apply on or before the first day of October next. The performers they are in want of are, a first and second violin, two hautboys and a bassoon, whom they are willing to agree with for one, two or three years.

It might be noted in passing that this advertisement sets an American pattern. American amateur orchestras are perennially in need of "two hautboys and a bassoon."

When the American colonies turned their energies to securing independence from the English crown, an era came to an end. When it is remembered that the year 1776 was just halfway from the year of Jamestown (1607) to the year which saw the end of the second World War, the length of the period can be appreciated. For nearly one hundred and seventy years Englishmen on this continent remained Englishmen. Culture came from across the ocean, it was not "homemade." But when the era ended, music in America had developed some of the features which were to be characteristic in the years ahead. The English choral tradition had been transplanted to New England and had begun to follow the New Englanders as they moved out of their original settlements. America had produced her first native composers and had welcomed her first non-English foreign com-

posers. America had begun to hear concerts and opera, and had, moreover, begun her long dependence on Herr Pachelbel, Signor Franceschini, Signora Castella, and Monsieur Le Roy to provide those performances. But Herr Pachelbel and his long company were to become Americans, too, and the transplantation was to include whatever would take root from *wherever* it came. All this began in the nearly two centuries before colonial America became the United States of America.

Readings

John T. Howard
Helen L. Kaufmann
F. L. Ritter
Louis C. Elson
W. L. Hubbard
Waldo Selden Pratt
George Hood
Waldo Selden Pratt
O. G. Sonneck

William Arms Fisher
Pennsylvania Society of the
Colonial Dames of America
L. C. Madeira
Julius Friedrich Sachse

Our American Music
From Jehovah to Jazz
Music in America
The History of American Music
History of American Music
American Music and Musicians
History of Music in New England
The Music of the Pilgrims
Early Concert Life in America
Early Opera in America
Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon
Miscellaneous Studies in the History of
Music
Suum Cuique
A Survey of Music in America
Notes on Music in Old Boston
Church Music and Musical Life in Penn-
sylvania in the Eighteenth Century
Annals of Music in Philadelphia
The Music of the Ephrata Cloister

MUSIC IN THE NEW NATION TO 1860

AT THE CLOSE of the Revolution the United States consisted of a row of states along the Atlantic coast. The frontier was still in the eastern mountains. A few towns were becoming small cities, but they were separated by many miles of difficult travel. By 1860 the country had expanded across the central plains and had actually reached the Pacific. The energy consumed in pushing back the frontier nearly three thousand miles was tremendous. The effort drained the resources of those who were involved in it and left its mark on the character of American civilization. The baggage of these pioneers included but few musical instruments and the rigors of their life left little time for the cultivation of the arts. The East, however, even though it was losing many of its most enterprising sons and daughters to the great westward movement, found the time and energy to devote to music and succeeded in producing some of the important elements of our musical culture.

The popular interest in music of which the early singing school was a symptom continued to spread and finally entered the public schools. Musicians of professional stature arrived in America in increasing numbers. Concerts and opera found more and more acceptance in urban centers. Each generation developed its own composers, many of them native-born, and all of them reflecting the growing sensitiveness to European tradition and current trends. The music trades discovered a rich field in the publication of tune-books, hymnals, chorus and anthem books, and instructional and sheet music of all sorts. By 1850 the value of the pianos manufactured in the United States had reached \$2,600,000. Most localities had military bands using instruments

made by American craftsmen; and a square piano or cabinet organ was either present or yearned for in every home. Books and periodicals about music and musicians as well as textbooks on music theory appeared. Indeed, music was used commercially with increasing profit during this period and thus set a pattern evident throughout America today. For example, music helped to sell "Father Kemp's Medicine"; the words of popular songs were printed on soap wrappers; and music became the mainstay of the characteristically American minstrel show. Furthermore, the camp meetings of many religious sects in remote regions gave rise to another musical need which was filled by songs whose origin illustrates the normal method through which folk music appears. The great American adventure—the westward movement, marked by Indian wars, the building of canals, wagon roads and railroads, mining, farming, house- and barn-raising, preaching, electing, herding, marrying, fighting, drinking, storytelling, working, dancing—produced a spontaneous musical activity which the historian can only describe briefly.

The Choral Tradition

At the close of the Revolution, Billings was at the height of his popularity. By the end of the century Protestant church choirs not only in New England but also in most of the other regions were familiar with the fuguing tunes of Billings and his imitators. Familiarity began to change to dislike; questions arose as to the suitability of the fuguing tune for religious purposes, and there ensued hot debates on the merits of various types of music. Those who disapproved of Billings' music chose "Old Hundred" as the prototype for hymns, and for a generation "Old Hundred" singers quarreled with fuguing-tune singers. One has only to turn to the first piece in the tune-books of the period to discover which faction is represented. If the book begins with "Old Hundred" it was published by the anti-Billings forces, and thus will contain few, if any, fuguing tunes. Billings' books and music began to disappear. Their place was taken by the collections of Andrew Law (1748-1821), Jacob Kimball (1761-1826), Samuel Holyoke (1762-

1820), Oliver Holden (1765-1844), and others. Holden deserves more than passing mention as the composer of "Coronation," which still enjoys a wide use.

As the early nineteenth century progressed interest was renewed in the attempts to evolve easier methods of teaching choristers the basic tools for musical participation. These efforts at first took the form of inventing more readable musical notations. The most influential system was proposed in *The Easy Instructor* by William Little and William Smith which was published in Albany, probably first in 1798. The "buckwheat" or "patent" notes were intended to indicate by their shape, in addition to their position on the staff, the pitch of the tone. "Patent" notations were widely used and still may be found in certain isolated places in the United States. Little and Smith used notes of only four shapes; before long others used notes of seven shapes, and some intrepid experimenters dispensed with the staff altogether, depending on the note shape to indicate the pitch. These attempts to employ what Americans have come to admire in themselves, "Yankee ingenuity," in order to circumvent the arduous task of learning to read conventional musical notation makes an interesting and characteristic incident in the story of American music. The new notations broke down and disappeared under the impact of the popular use of instruments, which of course depended on conventional notation.

More important than the "patent" notes was the good teaching which accompanied the spread of choral singing. Employed in it were men of genuine talent, endless enthusiasm, and considerable shrewdness. Almost without exception they were native Americans. If compared to European composers who were their contemporaries they hardly deserve mention; however, they responded to America's needs and it is noteworthy that many of them actually made a better living as musicians than many incomparably greater Europeans. The list could be greatly extended, but the following men are the most important.

Oliver Shaw	1779-1848
Thomas Hastings	1784-1872
Lowell Mason	1792-1872
George James Webb	1803-1887

Benjamin F. Baker	1811-1889
William B. Bradbury	1816-1889
Isaac B. Woodbury	1819-1858

All of these men were either teachers in singing schools and normal institutes or directors of choirs. All were editors and compilers of the many books which followed the arrangement of the eighteenth-century tune-book. From the publication of these they made money; the collections, which at first satisfied a distinct need, eventually became in some instances what the twentieth century would call a "racket." These men were also composers, chiefly of music which had little permanent value but which helped to satisfy, nevertheless, the healthy desire for "homemade" music. Hastings' "Toplady," Mason's "Bethany," "Olivet," and "Missionary Hymn," and Webb's "Webb" (*Stand up, stand up for Jesus*) have persisted in the hymnals of most Protestant churches, but the flowery cantatas of Baker and the made-to-order hymn tunes and children's songs of the others have but little to recommend them.

Oliver Shaw

Eye injuries causing blindness in his early manhood turned Oliver Shaw to the study of music. He learned to play the organ and clarinet and took lessons from Gottlieb Graupner in Boston. In 1807, after having become a proficient musician, he settled in Providence, where he was known as the central figure in the town's musical life. As a church organist and choir director, he was interested in "inculcating a more correct taste in the choice and performance" of sacred music, according to a statement of purpose by the Providence Psallonian Society which Shaw helped to organize in 1809. Shaw composed hymns and some solos and duets with religious texts. Some of his songs reflect the popular taste that eventually produced the revival songs.

Shaw published several tune-books, but one of his publications deserves special mention because it was an American prototype of a great number of instrumental books that were first intended for self-instruction but have more recently served as manuals in

public schools for group instrumental instruction. This book was published at Dedham in 1807, with the following title: *For the Gentlemen. A Favourite Selection of Instrumental Music: Calculated for the Use of Schools and Musical Societies. Consisting principally of Marches, Airs, Minuets, etc. Written chiefly in four parts, viz. Two Clarionetts, Flute and Basson; or Two Violins, Flute, and Violincello. Likewise, the Musical Characters, with the Scales, or Gamuts for the several Instruments, to which the Music is adapted. Selected, Composed, and Arranged, by O. Shaw.* It begins with a description of musical notation, followed by fingering charts for the instruments. Shaw's introductions to several of the instruments, while short, are decidedly to the point:

For the German Flute. The first thing to be learnt on this Instrument, is to make it sound . . .

For the Clarionett. This Instrument must be held near the centre of the body, with the left hand uppermost. You must be sure that your instrument is in tune, and that your Reed is a good one, for without those, even the best performer cannot play correctly.

For the Bassoon or Fagotto. This Instrument, of itself, like all others, is very imperfect, but by the assistance of a good ear, and a thorough practical knowledge, may be played very correctly in tune.

The book contains an Air, a Minuet, and the "Bristol March," which Shaw acknowledges as his own compositions, and the pieces range from duets to quintets. That a book such as this would have enough readers to justify its printing in 1807 seems to indicate considerable amateur interest in musical instruments.

Thomas Hastings

At the age of eighteen, with little or no formal musical education, Thomas Hastings directed a small church choir. From 1828 until 1832 he was active in Utica, New York, where he was the center of a musical community that deserves further study. His *Utica Collection* was published there, as was his *Essay on*

Musical Taste. The publication in Utica of still other textbooks on musical theory was probably influenced by him. In New York, Hastings served as a choirmaster and teacher and, with Lowell Mason, was a director of the New York Normal Institute. His book, *The History of Forty Choirs*, gives an unusually interesting picture of the activities in which he and his contemporaries were engaged. Hastings issued nearly fifty volumes of tune collections, but it is impossible to identify all the tunes he composed because, in the manner of his day, he signed his own name to only a few.

Lowell Mason

Lowell Mason's great contribution to the growth of music in America was his demonstration, in one of the public schools of Boston in 1837-38, that music was a proper and desirable addition to the school curriculum.

Mason was born at Medfield, Massachusetts, in 1792. As a youth he demonstrated a remarkable aptitude for music, which his parents allowed him to cultivate but with no intention that it would lead to a musical career. In 1812 Mason went to Savannah, Georgia, to work in a bank. His interest in music continued, for he had the good fortune to find an adequate teacher and soon became a church organist and choir director. He began to collect, compose, edit, and popularize music which was then not readily available. In 1822 his manuscript collection was large enough for publication. On a trip north he finally persuaded the Boston Handel and Haydn Society to undertake its publication. Appearing as the *Boston Handel and Haydn Society's Collection of Sacred Music*, it did not carry Mason's name because he was rightly afraid that recognition as a musician would damage his standing as a banker. The success of the book was so phenomenal that Mason could not avoid the implications. Five years later he returned to Boston to devote most of the rest of his long life to music.

As director of church choirs and president of the Handel and Haydn Society, Mason came more and more to believe that music instruction is best undertaken in childhood. He became acquainted with the teaching methods of Pestalozzi; and in 1832, as one of the

founders of the Boston Academy of Music he developed methods for teaching music to children. As an outgrowth of the Academy, Mason began to train teachers in his methods by meeting them for "normal conventions." These meetings proved exceedingly popular and Mason traveled widely to instruct groups numbering as many as a thousand prospective music teachers.

After several years in making the necessary preparation, Mason proposed to the school authorities of Boston that music be made a regular part of the school curriculum. He was allowed a year to demonstrate his work in the Hawes School, and in August, 1838, the Boston school board approved the employment of teachers of music. Thus a step was taken which was followed within a few decades by nearly every large city in America. Its results have had an incalculable influence on the musical life of the United States.

Mason terminated his connection with the Boston schools in 1841 in order to devote himself to editing, composing, and directing normal conventions. A trip to Europe resulted in the book, *Musical Letters from Abroad*, describing his impressions of the musical atmosphere of Europe. In 1853 he settled in New York and was engaged in training music teachers in the New York Normal Institute. During his last years Mason made his home in Orange, New Jersey, where he died in 1872.

Although the great choral tradition was diluted, quite obviously, to suit national taste of the early nineteenth century, it was nonetheless made known to every American through the medium of free public schools, and achieved a permanent place in American musical life. Brought from England by the Puritans, maintained through the difficult times of the seventeenth century, renewed by fresh interest and further contacts with Europe in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, established as an integral part of free public education in the nineteenth century—the choral tradition had a long period of naturalization. By 1860 it had become a permanent part of American culture.

Concert and Opera

The extent of pre-Revolution concert life in America has been indicated in a previous chapter. Concerts and stage performances gained increasing acceptance not only in the cities of the East but also in the mushrooming towns on the western side of the mountains. This development received considerable impetus from European musicians who immigrated in greater numbers during and after the Revolution. Their activities as teachers, composers, performers, and as musical tradesmen were so manifold that they cannot be described in detail, but a short sketch of some of them will help to fill in the picture.

Boston

William Selby (1735-1798) arrived in Boston probably during 1771, and was soon appointed organist at King's Chapel. During the war he was engaged in business, but from 1782 until his death he was active in musical affairs. He performed a good deal of his own music, and his efforts in promoting performances of choral music met with considerable success.

Gottlieb Graupner (1767-1836) was a German oboe player who had been a member of Haydn's orchestra in London. Graupner's first appearance in America was probably in Charleston, where he performed in 1795. He settled in Boston in 1798, establishing a music store which he used as headquarters for activities which included music publishing and concert giving. In 1810 he founded the Philharmonic Society, whose members gathered regularly to rehearse and perform orchestral music. Graupner helped in the establishment of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston in 1815, an organization which was destined to carry the burden of musical development in Boston throughout the nineteenth century and to serve, moreover, as a model for other oratorio choirs throughout the country.

Graupner was influential in the transplantation of European musical culture to America. He came with a thorough musical

training and with varied experience including participation in what was then probably the most advanced orchestral enterprise yet seen, the London concerts under Haydn's direction. In America his activity as performer, teacher, composer, and impresario pointed the way to the splendid choral and orchestral organizations which are now so important in American musical life.

The music provided by Selby and Graupner was part of a stream which broadened considerably as the nineteenth century advanced. Boston, together with many other places in New England, had seasons for concerts and offered presentations of ballad operas every year. The Handel and Haydn Society performed every year; after 1810 Boston was seldom without a relatively capable orchestra. Transient foreign artists, coming to America with greater frequency, attracted appreciative audiences, while the troupes of native "families" and minstrels made the less cultivated audiences feel at home in a music hall.

New York and Philadelphia

The development of the choral tradition in New England during the first half of the nineteenth century was somewhat later repeated throughout the country. Singing schools, normal institutes, choral societies, publishers of tune-books and music literature were to be found almost everywhere. Church choirs sought to improve their taste and performance; schools in most cities adopted music instruction; interest in instrumental music with the consequent demand for both teachers and orchestras was evident in all centers of population. Both New York and Philadelphia can count continuous years of full musical seasons prior to the Civil War. In 1825, for instance, Manuel Garcia presented the *Barber of Seville* in New York; the city which had seen Benjamin Franklin's experiments with musical glasses launched its Musical Fund Society with a concert that included a Beethoven symphony in 1821. In 1842 the New York Philharmonic Society was founded, but it succeeded a long series of less permanent orchestras. By the time Max Maretzek published his *Crotchets and Quavers* in 1855, New York and Philadelphia audiences had heard enough opera

to develop the taste for singers which Barnum exploited when he sponsored the tours of Jenny Lind. Operas by American composers were part of the fare. All this musical activity was in great measure the effect of a long series of musicians, mostly foreign-born, whose work deserves some notice.

Peter Van Hagen came to Charleston from Holland in 1774. In 1789 he moved to New York with his wife and son, who were also musicians. The family gave concerts, and Van Hagen proposed to teach almost any phase of music in which pupils might be interested. Part of his energy was given to the organization of annual subscription concerts, together with the management of music for some of the theaters for which he frequently composed incidental music. During 1796 in Boston, he and his son, Peter Van Hagen, Jr., established a music store from which they later issued some publications.

Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809) was born in England. He came to New York in 1786 with an excellent musical background that included an acquaintance with several of Europe's leading musicians. His activity centered in Philadelphia, where he managed music for the Chestnut Street Theater. The music provided by Reinagle for his audiences in the course of many concerts in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore was the music then current in London: Haydn, Mozart, C. P. E. Bach, Stamitz, Pleyel, Gossec. An exception would have been the music composed by Reinagle himself. His own taste was influenced by his interest in the theater. Beside keyboard music, he was always ready to compose incidental music and ballads for the performance of plays.

James Hewitt (1770-1827), like Graupner, had been a member of Haydn's London orchestra. He came to New York in 1792 where he found himself in competition with Van Hagen as an impresario. He was nevertheless successful in influencing the musical life of New York at every possible point, as theater violinist, church organist, teacher, organizer of concerts, tradesman and publisher, and composer. Hewitt exhibited an inclination for long pieces with descriptive titles. He brought with him from London an "overture" which had nine movements describing a battle. His piano piece, "The Battle of Trenton," can hardly be taken seriously in the twentieth century, but battles were a favorite source

of musical inspiration in his time; even Beethoven had his "Wellington's Victory, or the Battle of Vittoria" (opus 91). Hewitt also composed the score for an opera based on the legend concerning the Indian figure whose name had already been appropriated by a New York political organization, *Tammany*. The opera was produced in 1794 and was followed by seven similar works, all of which followed the ballad opera pattern set by the *Beggar's Opera*. Additional piano music, overtures, and many songs make up the bulk of Hewitt's compositions. After 1812 he lived only temporarily in New York; until his health failed, he was active in Boston, and as far south as Georgia.

Benjamin Carr (1768-1831) was an English singer, composer, and conductor who came to Philadelphia in 1793. His first enterprise was a music store, Carr's Musical Repository, which in the following years became a national institution for purveying instruments and publishing music. As a performing musician and as one of the founders of the Musical Fund Society in 1821, Carr was prominent in the musical affairs of Philadelphia. As a singer and composer he was interested in the stage both in Philadelphia and New York. His first ballad opera, *The Archers or Mountaineers of Switzerland*, was a musical setting of the William Tell story. It was performed repeatedly during 1796 in New York. Many other songs and ballads were composed for use in the theater. One curious work is a long piece for piano purporting to tell the history of England. Carr was held in such great esteem in Philadelphia that his colleagues in the Musical Fund Society erected a monument to his memory at his death in 1831.

Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1839) deserves mention in a history of music in America for only one reason. His career in America was an early demonstration of the difficulties that beset every subsequent attempt to transplant Italian opera to America. The English ballad opera had been successful financially, and within its limitations, artistically, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As Italian singers began to arrive, their concert successes seemed to indicate that Americans might show a like interest in Italian opera. Da Ponte, for one reason or another, failed in every attempt to make a living as an impresario, although he represented the best European operatic tradition. He

was not a musician, but he was Mozart's librettist for *Don Giovanni* and the *Marriage of Figaro*. He arrived in Philadelphia in 1805 and played the roles of scholar, poet, teacher, impresario, and storekeeper in New York, Philadelphia, Sunbury and other cities until he reached an extreme old age. His *Memoirs* give a revealing picture of the difficulties that plagued some of the attempts to transplant European culture to America. Italian opera at that time, as ever in the English-speaking world, was a precarious financial risk.

Anton Philipp Heinrich (1781-1861) was, at the beginning of his career in America, a wealthy German merchant whose business trips included visits to the New World. He was married in Boston on a visit there, and during 1810 he was amateur director of music in a Philadelphia theater. He returned often to America, and in 1816, his fortune lost and his wife dead, he was once more in Philadelphia. In 1817, determined now on a musical career, he journeyed to Pittsburgh intending to earn his living playing in a theater. The Pittsburgh promise failed and Heinrich continued down the Ohio to Kentucky. In the "western country" where Lexington, with a population of five thousand, was the largest town, Heinrich began his life as a musician—violinist, pianist, conductor, composer. His first concert in Lexington, November 12, 1817, included music by Haydn, Mozart, Viotti, Fiorillo, Pleyel, Gyrowetz, Kreuzer, and what may have been the first performance of a Beethoven symphony in America. Lexington, Kentucky, in 1817! Here in the backwoods Heinrich taught himself to compose by composing. Songs and instrumental pieces followed one another until, in 1820, he was able to publish his first volume, *The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or The Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature*. This was followed shortly by another book, *The Western Minstrel*.

In 1821 Heinrich was again in Philadelphia, this time for the performance of a "new Melo-drama," *Child of the Mountain, Or, the Deserted Mother*, "with entire new music, composed expressly for the piece by A. P. Heinrich, Esq. . . ." After a concert in which Heinrich's name appeared eleven times on the program as composer, he returned to Kentucky where he remained until 1823. The remainder of his life was spent in attempts to

achieve recognition as a composer. He took his music to Boston, London, New York, and Germany, coming back to New York in 1860, where he died in 1861.

Heinrich composed a great amount of music. He was original, partly because he was largely self-taught, partly because nineteenth-century Romanticism was making all composers sensitive to the extraordinary, but also because his American experiences were a source of direct inspiration. Insofar as his originality was the result of his life in America, it was a sign that a musical transplantation more than two centuries old was beginning to bear fruit.

William H. Fry (1813-1864), born in Philadelphia, was probably the first native American to compose music in the larger forms—grand opera and symphony—and to have it performed amid professional surroundings. Fry studied composition as a young man; his music won a prize and a performance before he was twenty. His familiarity with the operas of the early nineteenth-century Italians came largely from the performances he was able to hear in New York and Philadelphia. It was natural that a man of Fry's interests and temperament should attempt to imitate them, and it was natural, too, that he should convince himself that by using an English libretto he was furthering the cause of American music.

With a libretto constructed by his brother from Bulwer's *Lady of Lyons*, Fry composed his first opera, *Leonora*. It was performed in 1845 in Philadelphia at the composer's expense, and later printed in a vocal score running to four hundred and thirty-nine pages. In 1858 it was performed again in New York by an Italian company for whom it had to be translated into Italian. In the preface to the published work the composer indicated his satisfaction with the performance. He went on to say some other things which deserve to be quoted:

The success which attended the production of *Leonora* has been as great as I could desire. The public attention so given to the first American work of the kind, induces the trust that in this country, which has the accumulating wealth, taste, and knowledge conferred by freedom and peace, and

a coincident prosperity, there may be a rapid, and at the same time, a vigorous growth of this branch of Art. . . . A sense of public justice should . . . establish an international copyright—a republic of letters—by which American authorship shall be rendered secure. . . . The hope may be indulged, that the period is not far distant, when, as a people, we shall not reap where we have not sown; and we shall be too honorable to enjoy the fruits of European genius without rewarding it.

Fry followed these hopes with a statement that might well be taken as a text for the whole great phenomenon of a culture making a transit from one continent to another:

It is a clear proposition that no Art can flourish in a country until it assumes a genial character. It may be exotic, experimentally, for a time, but unless it become indigenous, taking root and growth in the hearts and understandings of the people generally, its existence will be forced and sickly, and its decay quick and certain.

Fry composed one other opera, *Notre Dame de Paris*, overtures, songs, and four symphonies whose titles give proof of his awareness of Berlioz: *A Day in the Country*, *Santa Claus*, *The Breaking Heart*, and *Childe Harold*. The second opera was performed in Philadelphia in 1864; and Jullien, the French conductor whose orchestra so astonished New York audiences, played one of his symphonies and several of his overtures.

As a music critic for the New York *Tribune*, he wrote and lectured on the theme indicated in the preface to *Leonora* with such conviction and reason that considerable impetus must have been given to the thinking of later musicians on the subject of "American" music.

George F. Bristow (1825-1898) was, like Fry, filled with a desire to further the cause of the native American composer. Bristow was a violinist in the New York Philharmonic Society from its founding in 1842. As a result of his participation in a controversy over the orchestra's policy on American works in which Fry was also involved, Bristow became known as a strong defender

of the American composer's right to be heard. The letters which passed back and forth, with a change of names, might have been written much more recently.

Bristow's opera *Rip Van Winkle* was performed, with a month's run, in New York in 1855. Its "Americanism" was the subject of arguments which would sound familiar to twentieth-century ears. It is no longer profitable to argue the qualities of Bristow's work, but it is important to note that they were once avidly discussed. Whether or not the whole question is futile—as outdated as other nineteenth-century "isms"—nationalism was to have an important influence. Men like Heinrich, Fry, and Bristow, all serious composers, were motivated by it.

Bristow composed chamber music, oratorios, and at least six symphonies, four of which were performed during his lifetime. He lived almost until the opening of the twentieth century, but despite a few scattered late performances, his chief influence was felt in the decade preceding the Civil War.

The South and West

Except for an excursion into Kentucky with "Father" Heinrich, most of this chapter has dealt with the eastern centers of population. The story of music in the United States before 1860 is not complete, however, without some notice of other places. New Orleans was the home of a remarkable French operatic tradition. The atmosphere of New Orleans was Spanish and French, and its cultural ties were closer with Europe, via Havana, than they were with the predominantly English settlements on the Atlantic seaboard. In spite of this fact there was, even before 1803 when New Orleans became part of the United States, considerable cultural association between the two regions. After 1803, with increasing frequency the individual singers and operatic troupes who performed in Havana and New Orleans also visited New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. French and Italian opera was presented with increasing frequency in New Orleans after about 1790, and the first theater which could adequately provide for opera performances

was built in 1808. This gave New Orleans a fairly extended opera season with several performances weekly.

New Orleans was the birthplace of the one musician of the New World who achieved an international reputation during this period, Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869). Because of the musical atmosphere engendered by the opera, Gottschalk obtained excellent instruction from his early youth. At the age of ten he was playing the piano in concerts; his departure for Paris in 1842 was celebrated by a farewell concert. After a period of study in France he began the concertizing which continued for the rest of his life. In 1853 Gottschalk was back in the United States for his debut in New York. His American birth together with the prestige of his European successes made him a sensation. He toured the United States until 1856, after which he spent six years in the West Indies. After returning in 1862 he went in 1865 to South America where he died, in Rio de Janeiro. During the two periods of his tours in the United States he played in almost every hall large enough to hold an audience from Boston to San Francisco. His piano playing must have been a revelation to hundreds of thousands of people who heard him.

Like most of the pianists of his time Gottschalk composed much of the music he played. While it is true that many of his works have lost their appeal, any general condemnation of his music should be tempered by a comparison to the works of such contemporaries as Thalberg, to say nothing of a large segment of Liszt's music for piano. Some of his music, especially the piano pieces inspired by his American background, such as "The Banjo" and "Ojos Creollos," are still important. In addition to a long list of works for piano, Gottschalk composed two symphonies, *La Nuit des tropiques*, and *Montevideo*, and other orchestral pieces which he conducted at music festivals. Two operas from his pen were never performed.

Gottschalk was much more a product of French Romanticism than of his American background; Berlioz and Chopin were his mentors. More than they, he was a victim of the weaknesses of the romantic movement. But he played the piano for more Americans than any pianist before his time, and he caught a measure of the rhythm and sparkle of America in a few of his composi-

tions. Some of his music, indeed, is still available in current editions.

Stephen Collins Foster (1826-1864) was more characteristically a product of the American setting than were any of his contemporaries who have been discussed here. On the day that the young country celebrated its fiftieth anniversary of independence—the day when two of its founders, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, died—Stephen Foster was born in Pittsburgh. There were people in the western remoteness of Pittsburgh—the Foster family among them—who knew the graces of the less robust East, but the river carried their traffic west and the mountains formed a barrier behind them. Foster had a German advisor (*teacher* would hardly describe his function) but his musical diet was largely that of the country fiddler, the sentimental ballad singer, the traveling “Ethiopian” theatrical troupe, the political campaign rhymist, and the “shouting” gospel singer. He spent some time in Kentucky and thus made the acquaintance of some of the great “minstrel” singers of the day.

The minstrel show furnishes one of the interesting phenomena of the American stage. Its origin is difficult to trace, for it has something of the English ballad opera, the pioneer tall tale, the rough humor and dance of the frontier, the “Ethiopian” song (not the Negro folk song but its white imitation), and black-face comedy. Its instrumental accompaniment was at first limited to fiddle, banjo, tambourine, and “bones,” but later included other orchestral instruments. The form—and it was a truly American form—originated probably in the decade of Foster’s birth, reached its climax as a conventional and popular kind of drama between 1840 and 1860, and then deteriorated and gradually disappeared after the Civil War. (Twentieth-century jazz may be one of its descendants.)

The music of the minstrel show was taken from any available source; many European importations can be traced in it. But the demand for new music was so great that it created a whole school of minstrel composers. Of these, Stephen Foster was the greatest.

Foster’s songs are at their best simple, direct, and heartfelt. They constitute a common denominator for millions of Americans; they have been quoted by everyone, as far back as Gotts-

chalk, who needed an American "theme song" that could not fail to be understood. Foster's life ended in a kind of frustration which must be understood as the reaction of a sensitive, highly-endowed American to his mid-nineteenth-century environment.

As we look back at the United States before 1860 we catch glimpses of a musical culture which, in the process of being transplanted, was beginning to take root, to feel at home, even to produce indigenous offshoots. But its products which carried the distinct flavor of American life were yet to be recognized at their true value, and it would take another half century before Americans could begin to have real confidence in their own musical enterprise.

Readings

John T. Howard	<i>Our American Music</i>
Helen L. Kaufmann	<i>From Jehovah to Jazz</i>
F. L. Ritter	<i>Music in America</i>
Louis C. Elson	<i>The History of American Music</i>
W. L. Hubbard	<i>History of American Music</i>
Waldo Selden Pratt	<i>American Music and Musicians</i>
W. S. B. Matthews	<i>A Hundred Years of Music in America</i>
Henry Wilder Foote	<i>Three Centuries of American Hymnody</i>
H. C. Lahee	<i>Annals of Music in America</i>
William Arms Fisher	<i>One Hundred and Fifty Years of Music Publishing in the United States</i>
Nathaniel D. Gould	<i>History of Church Music in America</i>
Thomas Hastings	<i>The History of Forty Choirs</i>
Frank J. Metcalf	<i>American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music</i>
Edward Bailey Birge	<i>History of Public School Music in the United States</i>
Arthur Lowndes Rich	<i>Lowell Mason "The Father of Singing among the Children"</i>
Henry L. Mason	<i>Hymn Tunes of Lowell Mason; A Bibliography</i>
Max Maretzek	<i>Crotchets and Quavers</i>
Lorenzo da Ponte	<i>Memoirs</i>
William Treat Upton	<i>Anthony Philip Heinrich</i>
Paul Arpin	<i>Life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk</i>
Octavia Hensel	<i>Life and Letters of Louis Moreau Gottschalk</i>

Louis Moreau Gottschalk
Harold V. Milligan
John T. Howard
Frank Luther
Philip D. Jordan
Daniel Spillane

Notes of a Pianist
Stephen Collins Foster, A Biography
Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour
Americans and Their Songs
Singin' Yankees
History of the American Pianoforte

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MUSIC IN THE MATURING NATION: 1860-1920

BY 1865 MOST of the influences which were to continue to control the course of music in the United States were present: the taste for choral singing, the use of music in the schools, the gospel song and sentimental ballad, the orchestral and operatic tradition, the "commercial" composer and the hungry composer, the German conductor, the traveling virtuoso (European, or native-born and European-trained), the Negro as a source of musical idiom, the music school, the self-instructor ("my friends were surprised"), the man who writes letters to the newspaper about "American music," the musical convention, and the music trade. Theodore Thomas was beginning a sincere career to make America musical at a time when Max Maretzek had addressed a volume of letters to Berlioz expressing his supercilious conviction that it couldn't be done. Both attitudes were characteristic of new Europeans coming to "the promised land." Lowell Mason's son William (1829-1908) had recently come home, a pupil of Liszt, to compose and teach and introduce chamber music to Americans. Thousands of Americans were to meet music through his piano methods books; thousands of others were to follow his example of European study. By the end of the century every town and

many villages had not only music teachers, but also composers whose names would have merited attention had they lived in America a century earlier. American musical life was an intense activity; an account of the details which accumulated so rapidly after 1860 must be left to others.

"People's Music"

Hastings, Lowell Mason, Webb, Baker, Bradbury, and their company of the singing school, normal institute, and tune-book fraternity were alive and active at the end of the Civil War. Their tradition was followed and enlarged and, from a certain point of view, debased by the group of men who survived them, some living into the closing decades of the century. In addition to their steady flow of compositions for the classroom, the Sunday School, and the choir loft, some of these composers of popular songs, ballads, and war songs were also compilers of a tremendous volume of instrumental teaching methods, following Oliver Shaw's early example. Among the many workers in this field the following should be noticed.

George Frederick Root	1820-1895
Elias Howe	1820-1895
Septimus Winner	1827-1902
Henry Clay Work	1832-1884

George Frederick Root was born in Massachusetts where as a young man he was closely familiar with the activities of Lowell Mason. After a trip to Europe he returned to New York to become again one of Mason's colleagues. After some success as a composer of such songs as "There's Music in the Air" and "Rosalie," he moved to Chicago where, as a composer, teacher, and publisher, he was active until his death. His greatest success as a composer came with his Civil War songs, the "Battle Cry of Freedom," "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching," and "Just Before the Battle, Mother." Much of Root's music had the same popularity as Foster's. It was perhaps characteristic of the adolescence of American music that composers like Root, who were producing what he called "People's Music," hesitated to

sign their own names to some of their music. Root, out of this hesitation and perhaps because he suspected that consumers would pay more attention to a German-sounding name, signed some of his music as G. Friedrich Wurzel.

Elias Howe was not a composer. (Incidentally, this Elias Howe was not the inventor of the sewing machine.) As an outgrowth of his interest in fine musical instruments, his shop in Boston became a center for the publication of instrumental instruction books and collections of dance music. *The Flute, Without a Master*; *The Violin, Without a Master*; *Howe's Piano-forte Instructor*; *Howe's Guitar Instructor*, and his numerous other books had a wide currency throughout the last half of the nineteenth century. *Howe's Complete Ball-Room Handbook* describes, with diagrams and illustrations, the dances of the period, and his publications reproduce, on an encyclopedic scale, the music which went with them.

Septimus Winner has had very little attention from the historians of music in America. Writing as "Alice Hawthorne," he composed numerous sentimental ballads, a few of which, like "Listen to the Mocking Bird," have had more than passing popularity. Winner, like Howe, published self-instructors for popular instruments. Throughout the whole period from the decade before the Civil War until the end of the nineteenth century, Winner supplied instruction books for village and home orchestras—the kind that played for fun and for dances. As one goes through the piles of oblong instrumental books of that period it becomes obvious that most of the compilers were obsessed by the European operatic music that was arriving in the eastern cities. Winner did not avoid opera altogether, but he was conscious of the more lusty "people's music," and he made it available in many editions. Winner's *Music of the Times*, for instance, opens with a piece for flute or violin duet by "Alice Hawthorne," entitled "As We Gather'd in the Hay." It contains other pieces by the same composer, jigs and reels with such earthy American titles as "Some Punkins," "Smoke-House," "New Cauliflower Cotillion," and many songs by Stephen Foster arranged as instrumental quartets. He was not important as a composer, but he undoubtedly had more influence on musical taste during his time than those

who were slaving away at symphonic scores never to be performed.

Henry Clay Work was a native of Connecticut, and as a musician was largely self-taught. As a young man he was successful as a composer of minstrel songs but this did not deter him from learning the printer's trade. He settled in Chicago in 1855. There he made the acquaintance of Root, who encouraged him to compose songs expressing his strong anti-slavery feelings. His best-known war songs were "Kingdom Coming" (used currently [1940-46] as a radio theme song) and "Marching Through Georgia." His "Grandfather's Clock" and "Come Home, Father," have become a part of American folklore.

With Root, Howe, Winner, and Work we take leave for the time of men whose talents and interests kept them close to the taste of the ordinary American. They "wrote down" to the public, as Root confessed, some being satisfied with the popular minstrel-show tradition, as Work probably was. But with them, as with Foster, most Americans could forget their inferiority complexes and enjoy themselves. This enjoyment was an important foundation for the composer's hope to assist his country to participate in a greater tradition.

The American Romanticists

On a concept of nationalism itself inherited from Europe, the followers of Fry and Bristow worked enthusiastically toward the fulfillment of a brilliant future for American music. They were men of widely varied endowment and interests, serious musicians who deserved a wider hearing than they have been given. Although conscious of their need to be Americans, they were inevitably a part of the great European musical tradition. During the nineteenth century the dominating aesthetic of that tradition was Romanticism, and these men suffer like the greatest of the contemporary Europeans from the later reaction against it. The twentieth-century composer in America or Europe draws but little inspiration from his romantic predecessors. He is, indeed, inclined to belittle them, and support a point of view which is damaging to the reputations of the men about to be discussed.

Foster, Root, Work, and their company are part of our story because they represent a kind of native continuity that has little reference to Europe. The later composers, Buck, Fry, Bristow, Paine, Chadwick, MacDowell, and others represent a European tradition so directly that it would appear necessary to compare with Wagner and Brahms. It is perhaps more to the point to compare them with Foster, Root, and Work.

Dudley Buck (1839-1909) was a native of Hartford, Connecticut. After a preliminary American training in organ and composition he went to Europe in 1858 to study at Leipzig, Dresden, and Paris. On his return his career was that of church and recital organist, choir director, and composer, in Hartford, Chicago, and New York. His compositions include many anthems and offertories; a comic opera, *Deseret*; a cycle of church cantatas; cantatas with orchestral accompaniment, *Scenes from the Golden Legend*, and *The Light of Asia*; an overture, *Marmion*; and numerous other works.

John Knowles Paine (1839-1906) was born in Portland, Maine. His interest in a musical career aroused by his work with a local German musician, he went to Berlin in 1858. Before returning to America in 1861 he gave organ recitals in Germany and directed the performance of one of his own works, a mass, in Berlin. In 1862 he became a member of the faculty of Harvard University where he remained all the rest of his active life. He was a pioneer in the introduction of music as a course of study in American universities. Paine's compositions include an oratorio, *St. Peter*; several cantatas among which should be mentioned *A Song of Promise* and *The Nativity*; two symphonic poems, *An Island Fantasy* and *The Tempest*; two symphonies, one in C minor and a second entitled *Spring*; incidental music for the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles and the *Birds* of Aristophanes; and an opera, *Agara*.

George W. Chadwick (1854-1931) was the son of an amateur music teacher who lived in the neighborhood of Boston. His early training grounded him in piano and organ, with some musical theory. In 1876, on the music faculty of Olivet College in Michigan, he read a paper on popular music at the founding meet-

ing of the Music Teachers National Association. From 1877 to 1880 he was in Germany, and from 1882 until his death he was connected with the New England Conservatory in Boston. In addition to his activity as teacher and composer he was a church organist and choral director.

Chadwick composed five string quartets and a piano quintet. For the stage he wrote the operas *The Quiet Lodging* and *The Padrone*; a comic opera, *Tabasco*; a lyric drama, *Judith*; and a pastoral opera, *Love's Sacrifice*. His many choral works with orchestra include *The Viking's Last Voyage*, an *Ode* for the opening of the Columbian Exposition, and *Land of our Hearts*. His orchestral works include three symphonies, six overtures, symphonic poems and suites. Numerous songs, anthems, piano pieces, and organ pieces complete a production for which no composer would need to apologize. Most of Chadwick's music has been performed, and much of it published.

Edward MacDowell (1861-1908) was the American composer who attracted more attention in Europe than any other of his period. He was born in New York, in a musical atmosphere more cosmopolitan than New England could offer. Indeed, his early piano teachers were all from Latin America. Arriving in Europe at the age of fifteen, he spent three years in Paris before he finally went to Germany. In Germany his interest began to change from piano to composition. He studied with Raff and made the acquaintance of Liszt, whose encouragement provided him opportunities to perform and publish his music. His career in Germany seemed assured, and after a visit to America in 1884 to be married he returned there with the intention of remaining. In 1888, however, for reasons that seem not to have been completely explained, he returned to Boston to compose, teach, and concertize. In 1896 he accepted a professorship of music at Columbia University. This was probably a fatal mistake for it took him away from his composition and involved him in administrative duties that were a source of friction and irritation. He resigned in 1904 under circumstances which indicate his unhappiness in academic surroundings. His musical career ended a year later with a nervous breakdown from which he never recovered.

MacDowell was an original, an *unacademic* composer. His American contemporaries were proudest of him as an American, and his music, a large part of which is performable by one person on the piano and hence easily available to audiences, was heard with pride and pleasure everywhere. While MacDowell was sincerely interested in the increasing vitality of musical activity in the United States, he saw clearly that the American musician's interest in musical nationalism might destroy his perspective. Notwithstanding the fact that some of MacDowell's later music carried titles indicating its inspiration by the American scene, he believed that to give it special consideration on that ground was in error. He was an American, but he was more a romantic tone-poet.

MacDowell is best known for the four sets of piano pieces entitled *Woodland Sketches*, *Sea Pieces*, *Fireside Tales*, and *New England Idyls*. He composed two concertos for piano and orchestra; four piano sonatas—the "Tragica," the "Eroica," the "Norse," and the "Keltic"; two suites and several tone poems for orchestra; and numerous songs and other short works for piano. In the *Indian Suite* for orchestra he employed Indian melodies and rhythms because he believed they provided interesting atmosphere but not because they indicated a source for a universal American idiom. With MacDowell, as with his contemporaries, the Romanticism of the European tradition was being transplanted to "New World" surroundings.

Horatio Parker (1863-1919) was a New Englander whose musical instruction began in his own family. He started to compose almost with his first piano lessons at the age of fourteen. Shortly thereafter he was one of Chadwick's early pupils in Boston. His European training began in 1882 when he went to Munich as a pupil of Rheinberger. He returned to the United States in 1886. After several years as organist, choirmaster, and teacher in New York and Boston, he went to New Haven as head of the Music Department at Yale University, where he remained for the rest of his life. Parker had an exceedingly busy life as teacher, conductor, and administrator, yet he did an amazing amount of composing. He wrote a good deal for orchestra, piano, and organ,

but it was with music involving the voice, in which he was in many instances building on the ancient choral tradition, that he was most successful. His first important work, *Hora Novissima*, was widely heard; its performance in England brought its composer commissions for other works and an invitation to be honored in person by the English. *Hora Novissima* was followed by other important choral works: *The Dream King and His Love*, *A Wanderer's Psalm*, and *The Legend of St. Christopher*. Parker composed his first opera *Mona*, partly in response to a New York Metropolitan Opera prize of ten thousand dollars for a work by an American composer. He won the prize and the opera was performed in 1912. The next year his *Fairyland* won a similar prize offered by the National Federation of Music Clubs.

Parker was, plainly, an American living in the United States and engaged in composing music. He acknowledged no limitation on where he might go for either technical training or inspiration, nor was he self-conscious about being an American composer. Many Americans heard his music and this was perhaps his greatest contribution to the much sought after "American School."

Paine, Chadwick, MacDowell, and Parker represent a period in American music when native composers were mastering the intricacies of musical craft as it had developed in Europe in a history of two thousand years. Chamber music, symphony, oratorio, opera—no musical form or vehicle remained thereafter a "foreign" mystery. The music they composed is more important than the hearing it now receives seems to indicate. European music was no longer outside the experience of Americans, for counterparts of it were being composed now on their soil, and even crossing the ocean to be performed in Europe.

These four men have been chosen to describe a period which they alone cannot fully represent. Their colleagues were numerous and nearly as important: William Gilchrist (1846-1916), Frederick Grant Gleason (1848-1903), Silas G. Pratt (1846-1916), Arthur W. Foote (1853-1937), Arthur B. Whiting (1861-1936), Mrs. H. H. A. Beach (1867-1944), Henry F. B. Gilbert (1868-1928), even Ethelbert Nevin (1862-1901).

The Advent of Modernism

Late in the nineteenth century the forces which were involved in the dispersal of Romanticism in Europe appeared in America with similar results; composers began to show a wide diversity of interest and source of inspiration. To the extent that the post-romantic composers drew inspiration from their predecessors most of the music of the nineteenth century came to have only a negative value. The European modernist, however, could and did turn to earlier centuries of European music for a fresh viewpoint. Many Americans followed this example. But the American who was infected with musical chauvinism found himself in a difficult dilemma: his American background was so short and so directly derived from Europe that he could claim no past.

For some Americans the folk-song theory of nationalism seemed to provide an answer. Imbued with a desire to establish an unmistakably American idiom, they turned to the primitive music of their own country. Henry Gilbert attempted, like Dvorak, to use Negro music. The most successful composers of Negro music have been, however, the Negroes themselves: Henry T. Burleigh (1866), Nathaniel Dett (1882-1943), and Rosamond Johnson (1873-). Among those who have found vital inspiration in the music of the Indians, must be mentioned Arthur Farwell (1872-), Harvey Loomis (1865-1930), Charles S. Skilton (1868-1941), and Charles Wakefield Cadman (1881-1946).

Impressionism, as an aesthetic basis for creative activity, was imported to America by Charles Martin Loeffler (1861-1935), whose works reflect in a definitely personal manner the innovations of Debussy. Loeffler has written much music of remarkable interest: a suite for violin and orchestra, *Les Veillées de l'Ukraine* (1891); a concerto for violoncello and orchestra (1894); a *Divertimento* for violin and orchestra (1897); *A Pagan Poem* for piano and orchestra; the symphonic poem (with solo viola d'amour) entitled *La mort de Tintagiles*; and numerous songs and chamber music.

American composers of the early twentieth century whose desire has been to produce serious art works comprise a group as heterogeneous as their European counterparts. Although most of

them reflect to varying degrees the contemporaneous European trends, their music shows a growing sensitivity to the American scene.

Edward B. Hill (1872-), long at Harvard University, has been one of the most influential and progressive teachers in America. He has written for piano, chamber groups, and orchestra. His orchestral works, which include two symphonies and several symphonic poems, show a sympathy for French methods, and distinguish him as a master of orchestration.

Daniel Gregory Mason (1873-), more because of his teaching and literary works than because of his composition, has been a distinct modernizing force in American music.

Charles Ives (1874-) has quietly developed a style which depends somewhat on New England folk idioms. He has been consciously independent of other influences, and therefore has produced music of radically modern interest. Perhaps because of the modesty with which Ives has presented his work, Americans did not immediately discern that he has been, in the matter of willingness to experiment, an American counterpart of Stravinsky and Schoenberg.

John Alden Carpenter (1876-) is a remarkably talented composer who remains an amateur. Although the influences to which he was subjected as a student were romantic and impressionistic, he has refused to be dominated by any style or aesthetic. His *Adventures in a Perambulator* and *Skyscrapers* have some qualities that make them distinctly American.

David Stanley Smith (1877-) has been for most of his career connected with the music department of Yale University, where he succeeded Horatio Parker. His music includes several symphonies, some chamber music, the choral work, *Rhapsody of St. Bernard*, and an opera *Merrymount* (not to be confused with a later work by Howard Hanson).

Louis Gruenberg (1884-) has long attracted attention as a talented and vital composer; his most recent opera, *Emperor Jones*, received an ovation.

Emerson Whithorne (1884-) is an American composer whose early impressionistic tendency has given way in such later works as the symphonic poem *Fata Morgana* and the ballet *Sooner*

or Later to a willingness to experiment, a development which causes his future compositions to be awaited with interest.

John Powell (1882-) has attracted considerable attention by his use of the English-derived idioms of the Southern mountaineers.

Charles Griffes (1884-1920), a composer who was strongly influenced by Ravel's brand of impressionism, has left remarkable songs and piano works and the important orchestral poem, *The Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan*.

Carl Ruggles (1876-) has done some unusually interesting harmonic and orchestral writing in *Sun Treader* for orchestra, and *Vox clamans in deserto* for voice and orchestra.

Deems Taylor (1885-) is one of the most interesting and influential figures in American music. His orchestral suite, *Through the Looking Glass*, distinguished him as a composer of eclectic tendencies; his two operas, *The King's Henchman* and *Peter Ibbetson*, have helped to keep alive an interest in modern American opera.

Philip Greeley Clapp (1888-) is one of America's leading music educators (University of Iowa). His works include several symphonies and symphonic poems, besides songs and chamber music.

The foregoing list is by no means complete, but it is representative of an immense creative activity by men of true talent.

Popular Music

Composers of Broadway "hits," in the fields of light opera and musical comedy, work in an atmosphere which pulsates with some of the most characteristic features of American life. Such men, however great their talent, usually have little place in a history of music because their work, for the sake of popularity, is nearly always a diluted concoction in which the methods of former "serious" musicians are used almost without originality. But because Broadway music is an idiom with somewhat the function of an American folk art, it takes on increased importance.

The light musical stage in America has been fortunate in

commanding the efforts of a group of remarkably well-trained men whose works have achieved great popularity in their particular fields. Reginald De Koven (1859-1920), Victor Herbert (1859-1924), John Philip Sousa (1854-1932), who also has had an immense following as a band director and composer of marches, Rudolph Friml (1881-), Jerome Kern (1885-1945), and Sigmund Romberg (1887-) have all contributed to the tradition requiring workmanship of a high order from the composers of America's stage and film music. Kern's *Showboat* (1928) has come to be accepted as one of the classics of the modern American musical stage.

The origins of both the word *jazz* and the type of music it represents, though they are twentieth-century phenomena, are not easy to discern. Jazz is commonly associated with the Negro, but its origin cannot be explained by this fact alone. It has definite Negro characteristics, chief among which are its syncopated cross-rhythms and the peculiar, Negro spiritual kind of idiom in the "blues" melody. But it also is related to the formerly popular "ragtime" whose roots reach back through the "people's music" of the earlier period, and, through its harmony and instrumentation, to traditional Western musical art. It also owes not a little to an immigrant Jewish idiom. That jazz originated in "Tin Pan Alley," as the workshop of Broadway is colorfully named, is another popular misconception. Jazz in its early crude form was first introduced in Chicago, in 1915, by Joseph Gorham. To traditionally trained musicians, such as Paul Whiteman and Ferde Grofé, must go the credit for making jazz somewhat respectable while at the same time profitable. Following their pioneer work jazz became the property not only of tin pan alley, but of composers of dance music all over America and Europe. By 1920 it was flourishing in America, and was catching the interest of such composers as Stravinsky in Europe.

Music in America at the end of the first World War presented as complex a picture as it did in Europe. Composers could not avoid the manifestations of the almost aimless cult of change which originated in Europe, but they lived in an atmosphere which despite many discouragements had a strength and vitality lost to Europe. Americans were in 1920 on the threshold of a

period when they were to realize the completion of the three-century process of transplantation. Indeed, a blight was about to strike the mother plant; its offshoots became the chief hope for fruitfulness.

Readings

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| John T. Howard | <i>Our American Music</i> |
| Helen L. Kaufmann | <i>From Jehovah to Jazz</i> |
| F. L. Ritter | <i>Music in America</i> |
| Louis C. Elson | <i>The History of American Music</i> |
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BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS IN AMERICA

A New Musical Environment

THE STORY of music in the United States for the first twenty years of the twentieth century relates an activity of heartening proportions. But the music of the most recent times displays features which even the previous generation would have found impossible to imagine. To understand some of those features it is profitable to recall some of the aspects of American life, so common at the end of the second World War as to be taken for granted, that were not present at all in 1920.

A preliminary glance at the United States in 1920 will set the stage. The automobile which dominated the scene was the Model-T Ford, still mostly hand-cranked. A current witticism described the Model-T as a musical instrument whose fenders played "Nearer, My God, To Thee" when it reached a speed of thirty-

five miles per hour. It seldom reached that speed; towns and cities limited automobiles to fifteen miles per hour and paved highways were nonexistent. Radio broadcasting was as yet unfamiliar to all but a few experimenters who had had wartime wireless experience. The phonograph was a luxury toy with virtually no musical value. "Jazz" was a word which was whispered because its connotations were suspect. School bands and orchestras, except in rare instances, were uninspired "extras" playing mostly military and theater arrangements reminiscent of the Howe and Winner tradition. The possibility of a sound film—the talking, singing, orchestrally accompanied, motion picture—was as yet unimagined. The change since 1920 in the amount and frequency of music in the daily life of Americans—at home, school, concert, theater, eating place, even in the office and factory—is even more radical than the change from the Model-T Ford to the present automobile.

The new musical environment of the twenties and thirties—partly a result of the change of pace which exerted its influence on every aspect of American life—continued to be influenced by many of the composers mentioned at the end of the previous chapter. Chadwick, Carpenter, Ives, Romberg, Kern, and many others of the older generation were active throughout much of the period between the wars. Many of them exerted powerful influences on their younger contemporaries while some of them were in turn influenced by the new forces shaping the work of the younger men.

Folk music was one of these forces. Actually, the study of folk music in the United States was not new in the twentieth century, nor was the feeling that there must be a relationship between the folk and the art music of a country. Interest in the whole subject was heightened, however, by the work of the English folklorist, Cecil Sharp, whose *English Folk-songs from the Southern Appalachians* (1917) began to exert an influence shortly after the first World War. Sharp enunciated a theory of conscious nationalism which has been attractive to many Americans. Certainly one aspect of the between-the-wars musical scene in the United States has been the folk-song collector whose constant refrain is "This tune ought to be in an American symphony!" The preoccupation of

many Americans with jazz, which has achieved many of the qualities of folk music, has made the theorizing of the folk-music cultists seem all the more plausible.

The definition of jazz can be left to the endless arguments of those for whom it is the "only" music. Its origin must be sought in levels of American society whose history is to be found mostly in police records. When jazz began to appear in slightly less undistinguished surroundings shortly before the first World War it attracted the attention of the "ragtime artist," from whom it spread to cabaret, ballroom, theater, concert hall, recording studio, and national broadcast.

The background of modern music would not be complete without calling attention to the radical change after the first war in the attitude of the young American musician toward Europe. From the time of Lowell Mason until 1914 the musically ambitious youth of America had flocked to Germany. The composers of Germany were their gods; German music schools, music teaching, musical scholarship, musical atmosphere constituted their ideals. Summer after summer American musicians returned to Germany to refresh themselves, to find new players for their orchestras, new scores for their performances, new domestic servants to teach German to their children. French and Italian music was tolerated at the opera, but it was not considered as comparable to the German. The first war brought almost a complete change. Because Germany was our enemy, German music was banned from our concerts and many of our studios. (We did not then, as in the second war, have the international broadcast.) French and Italian music was heard in quantity for the first time. The Russian Ballet, homeless after the Russian Revolution, was in Paris and later in America during the war. American soldiers saw "Paree" and were so attracted that the American Legion held a postwar convention there. The French, as a direct result of the war, opened special branches of their national music and art schools at Fontainebleau for American students. More important than all this, however, young American composers found an attitude toward music in France which seemed to meet their needs. The French, and to some extent the Italian, teacher seemed to be able to impart craftsmanship yet leave the student free to find

his own aesthetic creed. Significantly, one French teacher, Nadia Boulanger, deserves mention in an American history of music because she has exerted this dual influence on almost a whole generation of American composers.

One who lived and worked in the United States during the years under discussion knows how impossible it is to sketch the kind of life he experienced. In that segment of American life relating to music the sources of motivation have been so manifold, the tensions in opposite directions so strong, the rewards so varied, that it is likewise impossible to classify the composers who shared that life. Most of our active composers respond to a wide variety of inspirations. They have at least two things in common. First, they do not look like "composers." They live the lives of busy Americans. They pay their bills, raise families visit the gas station and the barber shop, help fight the wars—like any other American. Second, they wish they could earn a living by composing music. Some of them actually do, working for Broadway and Hollywood and the broadcasters; but most of them are teaching, conducting, performing, or writing as critics for a living. If they can be classified at all, it must be done on the basis of how close they come to being popular, popular in the sense that their music is known to and used by the millions of Americans who have had little or no formal musical training. This popular music is, in the need it satisfies, similar to the "people's music" mentioned in an earlier chapter. In the twentieth century, however, the purveyor of "people's music" either possesses or hires the craftsmanship of the "art" composer, and the serious composer yearns for the popularity of the "people's" composer. Thus every composer may sometime be heard in Carnegie Hall; the same man may have a "hit" on Broadway and a symphony on Fifty-seventh Street.

One other important signpost should be noticed. Twentieth-century American composers are as likely to be born in Wahoo, Nebraska, Wells, Minnesota, Kansas City, Missouri, or Brooklyn, as in Boston. When the time comes that the conductors of our great symphony orchestras hail from similar birthplaces our American musical culture will be mature.

The Popular Tradition

George Gershwin (1898-1937) has probably made a greater impression on American musical life than any other twentieth-century composer. He was born in Brooklyn, and as a boy was exposed to music through the traditional piano lessons. Still in his teens, he got a job in tin-pan alley plugging songs for one of the publishers of popular music. Before long he was writing songs himself. Sometime during his late teens he managed to absorb the jazz idiom while becoming an excellent pianist in his own style. His songs caught on and set the pattern for American popular music. From 1919 to 1933 he wrote a series of musical comedies that was broken only when he became absorbed in more serious work. Probably the best of his musical comedies was the important political satire, *Of Thee I Sing* (1931).

In 1924, for a concert of ornately orchestrated dance music presented by Paul Whiteman, Gershwin composed his *Rhapsody in Blue*. (The orchestration was done by Ferde Grofé.) This work is concert music of high order by a young man of genius in an idiom which was possible only because its composer was a product of the tin-pan alley-jazz tradition. It attracted attention to its idiom and its composer in a highly dramatic way; and its success encouraged Gershwin to attempt larger works for symphony orchestra, of which the *Piano Concerto in F* and the *American in Paris* are the most important.

In 1935 Gershwin's most important work, *Porgy and Bess*, was produced. It is an opera that could have been written only in the United States. It became a great success without benefit of the "Met." To it Gershwin brought all the facility for writing songs he had gained from the Broadway stage, his experience with symphonic music, and his sympathetic assimilation of Negro folk music. It is an opera which sends audiences away whistling its tunes. Most of the members of those audiences, too, wouldn't know where to find the column in the newspaper where the critic tells them whether or not they should like what they hear. There is some reason to suspect that this condition repeats, in America,

the popular acceptance under which opera was so prosperous in Italy during the nineteenth century.

After 1927, when it became possible to integrate musical performance with motion pictures, Gershwin did considerable composing for the films. It was natural that the Broadway musical idiom should be the first to be adopted by Hollywood. It was in Hollywood that Gershwin died, suddenly, in 1937.

In Gershwin the popular "people's music" of the United States and the art-music tradition transplanted from Europe were joined. This fusing of apparently—but not actually—contradictory elements did not take place without considerable self-consciousness and some condescension on each side. Much of the enthusiasm for the new status of popular music, out of which has developed a curious jazz cult, arises out of ignorance of the fact that such fusions have taken place often before, and that many important composers—Haydn and Mozart, for instance—were as much at home in the ballroom as in the concert hall. Since Gershwin, however, American purveyors of popular music have felt increasingly the necessity to be superlatively trained craftsmen, and the "long hairs" have admitted that the popular tradition in America has produced one of our most original and influential composers.

Richard Rodgers (1902-) is a talented composer who has devoted himself almost entirely to writing for the popular stage and Hollywood. He began composing as a boy, and has produced the music for a long series of musical comedies including *Oklahoma* and *Carousel*.

Morton Gould (1913-) is another composer whose background combines the atmosphere of tin-pan alley with a sound musical training. Unlike Gershwin and Rodgers, however, Gould moved from the theater to the broadcasting studio, from which his music not only has had a wide hearing but also has made its way into the concert hall. He has written some works for piano, but his greatest success has been with orchestral music. His facility reflects the "slickness" of the modern theater-radio-movie concept of the symphony orchestra.

Theater, radio, phonograph, and movie film have made millions of Americans expert in the knowledge of the American popular music which has been during the past thirty years a fusion of all

available musical traditions. Gershwin, Rodgers, and Gould represent a large group of well-trained, talented, and prosperous composers. Vernon Duke (1903-), who as Vladimir Dukelsky takes himself much more seriously, and Kurt Weill (1900-) are European-born Americans who are members of this group. By reason of popularity, if not for solid musical background, W. C. Handy, Irving Berlin, Cole Porter, Hoagy Carmichael, and Arthur Schwarz deserve mention.

The Art Tradition

First heard shortly after the first war were those composers who were born in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Among them the following should be mentioned.

Bernard Rogers	(1893-)
Walter Piston	(1894-)
Robert Russell Bennett	(1894-)
William Grant Still	(1895-)
Howard Hanson	(1896-)
Virgil Thomson	(1896-)
Roger Sessions	(1896-)
Quincy Porter	(1897-)
Henry Cowell	(1897-)
Roy Harris	(1898-)
Randall Thompson	(1899-)
Harl McDonald	(1899-)
Aaron Copland	(1900-)

These men have not enough in common to constitute a school in the old European sense. Most of them, however, completed their formal training in Europe; and it is interesting to notice how often the name of Nadia Boulanger appears as their teacher. Almost to a man they express a lack of faith in conscious nationalism. Their nationality as composers may be defined simply: they are Americans who live in their native land and feel its life; they write music for Americans and they are willing to hope that it will be understood as a part of American culture.

Bernard Rogers is a native of New York. His final teacher in composition was Nadia Boulanger. Since 1929 he has been on

the faculty of the Eastman School at Rochester, New York. He has composed numerous orchestral works which include three symphonies, an opera, *The Marriage of Aude*, choral settings of biblical texts, and ballet music.

Walter Piston was born in Rockland, Maine. He is another Boulanger pupil. His entire professional connection has been with the music department of Harvard University. His best-known work is the ballet, *The Incredible Flutist*, but he has written much interesting chamber music and several works for orchestra, including two symphonies. Piston has been labeled a neo-classicist, which indicates that he dislikes using the liberties of the nineteenth-century composer as a substitute for clear-cut, logical craftsmanship.

Robert Russell Bennett is a native of Kansas City, Missouri, where he received his early musical training. He learned to play many of the instruments of the orchestra, and turned this ability to good purpose as an arranger in New York. After several years of experience in New York as a man who made other composers' music sound well for orchestra, Bennett went to Paris, where he worked with Boulanger. When he returned to the United States he was a composer who made his own music sound well. Since then he has pursued the double career of composer and arranger. As an arranger he can be credited with many scores for films and such highly polished orchestrations as the one for Rodgers' *Okla-boma*; as a composer he has written much film music and other pretentious works, of which the wartime symphony, *The Four Freedoms*, inspired by Norman Rockwell's paintings, is characteristic.

With Bennett the popular and art traditions are fused in a characteristically twentieth-century American fashion. Many of his pieces indicate an attempt to create interest in the traditional musical forms by using them as vehicles for some aspect of the popular idiom. His *Concerto Grosso*, for instance, contrasts the tone of a small dance band against a symphonic background. Individual pieces in a set of five violin solos—*Hexapoda*—have such titles as "Gut-Bucket Gus" and "Jim Jives."

William Grant Still, a Negro composer, is a native of Mississippi. After attending Oberlin College he served a long practical

apprenticeship as an arranger and orchestrator of popular music in New York. In those years, too, he studied composition with Chadwick and later with Varèse. As he reached maturity he turned more and more to music which would demonstrate the rich contribution of his race to American culture. In this he has succeeded, and thus has established himself as an important American composer. Characteristic among his works are the *Afro-American Symphony*; *Lenox Avenue*, an orchestral work written for radio; *And They Lynched Him on a Tree*, a cantata; and *Plain Chant for America*, for baritone and orchestra. Other works of his for orchestra and several operas and ballets round out a valuable segment of American music.

Howard Hanson has been one of the dominant musical personalities of the between-the-wars period. Born in Wahoo, Nebraska, of Scandinavian ancestry, he received his early training in the Middle West and in New York. In 1921 he went to Rome, and on his return in 1924 he became Director of the Eastman School of Music, which has since become one of the outstanding music schools in the world. The standing of this school and others of like quality, indeed, makes it unnecessary longer for an American music student to go to Europe for training. As a conductor who is also a propagandist Hanson has worked unceasingly to give American audiences the opportunity to hear the music of American composers; as a composer he has provided music which has attracted wide attention and interest. Americanism as a motivation for a conscious and exclusive idiom has no place in Hanson's musical philosophy. The source of his musical style is in the man himself; those who have heard him speak publicly recognize the same tendency to change pace, the necessity to be vehement—even oratorical—that finds expression in his music.

Virgil Thomson is a native of Kansas City, Missouri. He is a graduate of Harvard, where he taught music for a few years. Another Boulanger pupil, for some years between the wars he made his home in Europe. Since 1940 he has been a music critic in New York, a means of livelihood for a composer which he himself deplored in a book of essays entitled *The State of Music*. Thomson returned to the United States holding the belief that creators of music and the few intelligent people who can under-

stand their creations live on a cultural island which has virtually no communication with the mainland. Thus he has no hope of being widely understood as a composer—he would, logically, be disappointed if he were—and should not be taken seriously as a critic except by those who share his insularity. His music for the documentary films, *The Plough that Broke the Plains* and *The River*, is important as representing a type of music which if it serves its function is to be heard only at the periphery of attention. His *Four Saints in Three Acts*, an opera on a text from Gertrude Stein, has been a convincing demonstration of Thomson's "island theory." American musical culture is probably at a stage, after the second World War, when the prejudices of a few Thomsons have a salubrious effect because they provoke opposition and most people do their best thinking when they are angry.

Roger Sessions, although he was born in Brooklyn, is a product of the long-established and somewhat complacent New England cultural tradition. After graduation from Harvard he studied with Horatio Parker and later with Ernest Bloch. From 1925 until 1933 he was in Europe. From 1933 to 1942 he was president of the International Society for Contemporary Music. He has taught composition and done considerable composing. His best-known work is an orchestral suite from the incidental music to Andrejev's drama *The Black Masquers*. Three symphonies, a piano sonata, a violin concerto, other smaller works for orchestra, and some chamber music make up the bulk of his production. Sessions, in common with many of his contemporaries, has no sympathy for a composer's conscious attempt to be American. He has a keen, analytical mind and has been an inspiring teacher to many Americans of a younger generation; unfortunately his music, which is uncompromising in its artistic integrity, seems to be a long time achieving a wide hearing.

Quincy Porter is now a member of the faculty of the School of Music at Yale University. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, and graduated from Yale University, where he studied with Horatio Parker and David Stanley Smith. Later he worked with d'Indy in Paris and Ernest Bloch in the United States. Although Porter has composed a symphony and several other

works for orchestra, his chief interest seems to be in the field of chamber music. He has composed seven string quartets and several sonatas and suites for intimate instrumental combinations. Most of his music remains in manuscript and consequently does not have sufficient opportunity to be heard.

Henry Cowell was born in Menlo Park, California, and his musical career has been somewhat characteristic of the Californian penchant for embracing new and often startling doctrines. His youthful composing was done without benefit of instruction and he has continued to be almost entirely self-instructed. He has found methods, materials, and justifications in the most widely varied sources—from the mechanical production of rhythms, from the music of exotic cultures, and more recently, even from such almost conventional *music* as would be met in the publications of William Billings and Elias Howe. He has composed a long list of works for various orchestral and chamber-music combinations. Also, he has written a good deal about modern music and talked unflaggingly in behalf of experiments which were conducted furiously between the wars. He served in the musical branch of the Office of War Information during the second war. He is now perhaps tiring of the atmosphere of frustration which has poisoned the inspiration of western civilization so greatly in the twentieth century.

Roy Harris was born on a farm in Oklahoma and grew up in southern California. His musical training began only after his release from the army following the first World War. His earliest instruction in composition came from Arthur Farwell. In 1926 he went to Paris, where for several years he worked with Boulanger. Some of the works produced in Paris—a Piano Sonata and a Concerto for piano, clarinet, and string quartet—attracted attention; and Harris has seen to it that he and his music have received attention ever since. Without composing for Broadway or Hollywood, he has more nearly earned his livelihood solely as a composer than any other American of his generation. He has composed on commissions from radio broadcasters; his music has been widely performed and recorded, and much of it has been published. He has been employed as “composer in residence” by Cornell University and Colorado College.

Harris's music includes six symphonies, and several other works for orchestra of which *When Johnny Comes Marching Home* has been heard most widely. He has written much chamber music and a number of choral works. His Third Symphony, composed in 1939, was given an immediate hearing and recorded, so that it has been available to a large audience. It is an impressive work. Harris's preoccupation with his role as an American composer has led him into a kind of theorizing about music which, while interesting and admirable, may result—and with him has perhaps already resulted—in a self-consciousness that can be fatal to a composer.

A sociologist might say, without fear of being taken too seriously, that "the composer will become in his way what the country doctor was in the horse and buggy days. He must know the needs of his region, and create music serviceable to those needs. . . . Music is a social art, not an intellectual hobby. The composer must know the people of his region and create for them at whatever level he finds them."¹ But for a composer to follow such advice consciously may constitute a denial of important sources of inspiration. His whole thinking may become, indeed, a dangerous kind of rationalization. The musical products of this theory have not always validated it, but it is refreshing to contrast the interest of Roy Harris in the "state of music" in the United States to that of Virgil Thomson.

Randall Thompson is a native of New York City. He is a graduate of Harvard University, a pupil of Ernest Bloch, and has had several periods of European study. He has taught music at several American colleges and universities and has been director of the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia. His influence has been felt in the academic world through a survey of college music which he made for the Association of American Colleges.

Thompson has composed some chamber music; outstanding choral works among which should be mentioned *Americana*, *The Peaceable Kingdom*, and *The Testament of Freedom*; an opera, *Solomon and Balkis*, commissioned by the Columbia Broadcasting

¹ Roy Harris, "The Creative Musician and the New Era," MTNA *Volume of Proceedings* for 1944.

System; and, among other orchestral works, two symphonies, the more recent of which is one of the landmarks of modern American music.

Harl McDonald was born on a ranch near Boulder, Colorado. His parents moved to southern California where he had his early musical training. After attracting some local attention as a youthful composer and appearing as a pianist, he studied for a time in Germany. In 1925 he settled in Philadelphia where he has since been connected with the University of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia Orchestra, and he has devoted considerable attention to the problems which have grown out of recording and broadcasting.

McDonald's works include some chamber music and a few choral works, but his chief attention has been given to the orchestra. He has written four symphonies; the first two, *Santa Fe Trail* and *Rhumba Symphony*, have been widely heard. Other orchestral works include a Concerto for two pianos and orchestra, and pieces inspired by topical events, like *Lament for the Stolen* (Lindbergh kidnapping) and *Bataan*. McDonald's connection with the Philadelphia Orchestra eases, for him, the normal difficulty which most American composers face in securing performances for their orchestral works.

Although Aaron Copland was born in the twentieth century, he has been so closely associated with the group under discussion that he should be included with them. He was born in Brooklyn. His early work in theory and composition was done in New York with Rubin Goldmark; in France he worked with Nadia Boulanger. Since his return to America he has worked steadily, by lecturing, writing, and arranging for performances, to give American composers of his generation a larger and more understanding audience. He has been widely heard as a composer; much of his music has been published; part of it is available on recordings. It includes important piano music, chamber and choral music, and some of the best-known symphonic, stage, and film music from any American composer. The orchestral music includes three symphonies, a Piano Concerto, *Music for the Theatre*, and *El Salon Mexico*. His stage music includes the piece for high-school per-

formers called *The Second Hurricane* and the ballets, *Hear Ye, Hear Ye, Billy the Kid, Rodeo*, and *Appalachian Spring*. He has provided film music for *Of Mice and Men, Our Town, The City*, and other movies more popular in aim.

The first group of composers in the art tradition—men born between 1890 and 1900, who began to be heard shortly after the first war—could be added to almost indefinitely. Many others of the same generation have made important contributions to American musical life: Philip James (1890-), Frederick Jacobi (1891-), Adolph Weiss (1891-), Richard Donovan (1891-), Douglas Moore (1893-), Mark Wessel (1894-), Paul White (1894-), Charles Haubiel (1894-), Leo Sowerby (1895-), Quinto Maginini (1897-), Herbert Elwell (1898-), Carl Bricken (1898-), Werner Janssen (1899-). Together they represent all possible twentieth-century attitudes toward music. They are mature composers, men whose styles have become recognizable. The formation of their styles constitutes a phenomenon which is one of the most hopeful signs in American music. Almost to a man their musical language has become less radical as they have moved away, in time, from their early European training. Their desire to be "modern" in the sense that twentieth-century, frustrated Europe is modern, has been tempered by their much greater need as Americans to be affectionately understood. They have provided the intense creative activity which hitherto has always seemed to be the necessary condition for the appearance of great music. Their production should be known much more intimately than it is, for it does include some music that is great.

The Younger Composers

The youngest generation of American composers whose music has been heard sufficiently to attract attention contains many men who will be increasingly important as time provides a better perspective.

Robert Delaney (Baltimore, Maryland, 1903-) studied composition with Boulanger and Honegger. His compositions include

orchestral, choral, and chamber works, among which a choral symphony, *John Brown's Song*, has attracted considerable attention.

Marc Blitzstein (Philadelphia, 1905-) has been a pupil of both Boulanger and Schoenberg. He is best known for his music for stage works which deal directly with urban social problems: *The Cradle Will Rock*, *I've Got the Tune*, *No for an Answer*. He composed the music for the documentary film *Valley Town* and for the Mercury Theatre production of *Julius Caesar*. Blitzstein is conscious of the working man's need for vital contemporary music; that consciousness has helped to solve his stylistic problems by giving him an audience toward which he can direct his creative energy.

David Van Vactor (Plymouth, Indiana, 1906-) has been active in Chicago as a composer of symphonic works, a member of the Chicago orchestra, and a teacher at Northwestern University. He has recently moved to Kansas City.

Normand Lockwood (New York, 1906-) is a pupil of Boulanger and Respighi. He has written a great deal of important choral music, an opera, and a symphony.

Ross Lee Finney (Wells, Minnesota, 1906-) worked in Europe with Boulanger, Berg, and Malipiero. His compositions include four piano sonatas, much chamber music, a concerto each for piano and violin, and song settings for poems by Archibald MacLeish.

Burrill Phillips (Omaha, Nebraska, 1907-) has had his training in the United States with Stringham, Rogers, and Hanson. His activity has centered about the Eastman School at Rochester, New York. His best-known work is the orchestral *Selections from McGuffey's Reader*.

William Schuman (New York, 1910-) studied with Haubiel and Harris in the United States and at the Mozarteum in Salzburg, Austria. Part of his early background was a short-lived professional contact with tin-pan alley. Schuman has written some choral and chamber music, but his orchestral works, particularly the Fourth Symphony, have attracted more attention. Of late he has done the music for the wartime propaganda film *Steeltown*.

Samuel Barber (West Chester, Pennsylvania, 1910-) is a product of the Curtis Institute of Music, where he studied composition with Scalerò. His music has been widely performed both in the United States and Europe. Barber has composed some chamber and choral music, but he has been heard most often as an orchestral composer, represented by such works as the overture to *The School for Scandal*, the Second Symphony and the Violin Concerto.

Robert McBride (Tucson, Arizona, 1911-) entered his musical career through the normal youthful American's interest in high-school band and dance orchestra. His formal preparation in composition was done at the University of Arizona with Otto Luening. He is best known for his works in the jazz idiom.

Bernard Herrman (New York, 1911-) received his training in his home city. He has been a staff conductor for the Columbia Broadcasting System where he has had charge of the music for several important program series. In addition to a number of interesting orchestral works he has composed scores for radio "melodramas" and for the film *Citizen Kane*.

Gardner Read (Evanston, Illinois, 1913-) completed his training at the Eastman School with Rogers and Hanson. After two years in Europe, he returned to teach in Kansas City. In addition to two prize-winning symphonies, his symphonic suites *The Painted Desert* and *Sketches of the City* have received important performances.

David Diamond (Rochester, New York, 1915-) had most of his formal training in the United States, with Rogers, Sessions, and Paul Boepple (1896-). He had a short period of study with Boulanger in France. He has composed two symphonies, numerous other orchestral pieces, and considerable chamber music.

Leonard Bernstein (Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1918-) is a product of Harvard University and the Curtis Institute. His best-known work is the symphony with the title *Jeremiah*.

Composers in their twenties and thirties, unless they have the genius of a Mozart or a Schubert, hardly deserve mention in a history of music except that the great number of them may indicate a tremendous creative musical activity. This is true in the United States. However, a broad account of the individuals in-

volved is a journalistic rather than an historical enterprise. Names could be added—and some at a later time, subtracted—almost indefinitely: Otto Luening (1900-), Herbert Inch (1904-), Dante Fiorillo (1905-), Paul Creston (1906-), Robert Sanders (1906-), Hunter Johnson (1906-), Kent Kennan (1913-), Alvin Etler (1913-), Gail Kubik (1914-), Robert Palmer (1915-), William Bergsma (1921-).

Americans have inherited a curious tendency to accept the self-admitted cultural superiority of Europeans without question. Our history is full of instances in which we have worshiped second-rate European scholars, teachers, singers, conductors, and composers, simply because they were Europeans. Our adulation has given its objects a self-confidence which has made many of them actually better practitioners than they would have been had they remained at home. There is no longer any excuse for Americans to feel inferior to contemporary Europeans. Our own scholars, artists, and musicians need only the self-confidence that would come from our complete belief in them to attain the fulfillment of our cultural destiny.

Readings

John T. Howard
Helen L. Kaufman
John T. Howard
Claire Reis
David Ewen
Eric Clarke
Daniel Gregory Mason

Our American Music
From Jehovah to Jazz
Our Contemporary Composers
Composers in America
Music Comes to America
Music in Everyday Life
Tune In, America
The Dilemma of American Music
Music in My Time
The Seven Lively Arts
Revolt in the Arts
The Rise of the American Film
The Music Goes Round
American Jazz Music

Gilbert Seldes
Oliver M. Saylor
Lewis Jacobs
F. W. Gaisberg
Wilder Hobson
Frederic Ramsey, Jr., and
Charles Edward Smith
Benny Goodman and
Irving Kolodin

Jazzmen
The Kingdom of Swing

W. C. Handy
 Henry O. Osgood
 Paul Rosenfeld
 Henry C. Cowell

Aaron Copland
 Isaac Goldberg

Merle Armitage
 David Ewen

Father of the Blues
So This is Jazz
An Hour With American Music
American Composers on American Music
New Musical Resources
Our New Music
George Gershwin, A Study in American Music
George Gershwin
The Story of George Gershwin

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THE "MUSIC OF THE FUTURE"

The Music of the Past

THE NORMAL desire, after having brought the history of music up to date, is to attempt to discern the paths which it will follow in the future. But before that is done, it will perhaps be worth our while to take one last look backward.

Two things stand out: personality and music. Art, in one fundamental aspect, is the reflection of human personality. It may be, as with the plain song or the Gothic cathedral, the reflection of the composite personality of a great institution. It may be, like a symphony of Beethoven or a painting by Van Gogh, a reflection primarily of a single personality. The second thing, the music itself, is exactly what music history is about. The ideal way to study the history of music would be to study nothing but the immense accumulation of musical works. Of necessity, the study must miss being ideal, but the fact must never be forgotten that the music itself—the vast number of works based upon sounds artificially selected and arranged—is the end of the study. Thousands of books have been written

about music; unless they motivate a more intimate acquaintance with *music as it sounds*, they are a waste of ink and paper.

Cycles in Musical Development

Two distinct types of development have been traced; an understanding of both contributes to the musician's intelligent grasp of music as literature. The first is the evolution of the conception and technical use of the materials of music. The second is the development of an aesthetic for musical art; the result of the attempt to answer the question "What is music for?"

Both processes still continue. Our perspective can be considerably clarified by conceiving the two types of growth as reacting on one another and, in that reaction, producing cycles of artistic development. When new materials are legitimatized, the exploration of their uses results first in new forms and finally in a use of both new materials and forms for an expressive purpose. From new materials—to formal perfection in their use—to expressive purposefulness: such is the cycle which the history of music exhibits. It is fair to suppose that it will continue.

The Present Cycle

A discernment of the present position in the cycle of development must be prerequisite to any speculation concerning the music of the future. That is difficult to ascertain with the hope of unanimous agreement on the part of creative artists. It is, however, fairly safe to say that the Romantic Movement, which came to a climax in the music of Wagner and Brahms, was characteristic of the third stage of a cycle. It is also clear that almost immediately those composers who had lost sympathy with Romanticism began a feverish search for new materials. Because that search still continues, and because the accumulation of new materials is resulting in a phenomenal loss of aesthetic certainty, and because, moreover, composers are consistently taking refuge from their uncertainty in such old and often conventional

formal procedures as are available, it seems probable that musical art is passing through the first stage of a new cycle.

New Uses for Music

Once before in the slow cyclical process an imponderable possessing a revolutionary significance appeared coincident with the beginning of a new cycle. Just as the tonal system was about to emerge, and when instruments had reached the point where the exploration of their styles was becoming a necessity, the sudden popularity of the opera provided a new use for music to which composers could turn with enthusiasm. The present period, cyclically similar to the beginning of the seventeenth century, is faced with new uses for music at least as revolutionary as was furnished by the opera. First, the electrical reproduction of sound, already embodied in the phonograph, the radio, and the film, and soon to be embodied in the television, implies a complete reconstruction of future musical art quite comparable to that begun by the *Camerata*. It is altogether imaginable that the "modern period" of the future historian will date from *The Jazz Singer* instead of, as at present, from the year 1600. What will become of the revolutionary materials and intricate technics of present-day "serious" musicians if the inevitable simplification indicated for film music becomes the dominant trend? Will they lie dormant waiting for a synthesis similar to that of the later seventeenth century? What will become of the great musical literature which depends for performance upon instruments which might be forgotten if electricity chooses the instruments of the future? Will they be heard only in recordings, or will they become so old-fashioned that they can no longer give pleasure? Will the excited aesthetic exploration of the present appear to have been futile, a cause for surprise at our failure to recognize the inevitability of the new? Will composers actually create by drawing lines on a film, and will performance be limited to running that film through a machine?

The second new use for music is perhaps more revolutionary in its implications than the one already mentioned. It is, namely,

the adoption of music by the public schools as a subject for common-school education. While the vanguard of composers may be looking forward to the time when music will be "composed" on a ribbon of film, the young people of the Western world, in unprecedented numbers, are making the acquaintance, in their orchestras and choirs and appreciation lessons, of the great music of the past. The answers to the queries expressed in the preceding paragraph may perhaps give grounds for pessimism to the musician who views with alarm the encroachments of machine-made music; the amazingly wide and vital use of music in the schools can well furnish an antidote to that pessimism.

Music, any kind of honest and sincere music, will continue in the future as it has in the past, to play an increasingly important part in the lives of cultured human beings. The study of the history of music should open vast fields of musical exploration, and bring to the student a wide enough acquaintance with old music to convince him that hardly anything the future might bring could be truly new.

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